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THE NEGRO IN THE HISTORY OF
INDIANA

THE NEGRO
IN THE HISTORY
OF INDIANA

by

JOHN W. LYDA

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To My Wife

Lena B. Lyda

This Book is Affectionately

Dedicated

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John W. Lyda, President

PREFACE

The history of Indiana would have been a different record had it not been for the Negro who has lived within the confines of the state during its entire life.

The first Negroes to dwell here were either servants or slaves of the French. A number of slave owners from the South who settled in the river counties of this territory prior to its statehood brought their slaves with them just as they brought their domestic animals, for they regarded property in slaves much as they did property of other kinds.

Futhermore during the first half of the last century, many free Negro pioneers from the South immigrated to Indiana to escape the galling restrictions imposed on them, an aftermath of the terror and ever-present apprehension of the White South following the many bloody slave insurrections of that period. They had to undergo all the hardships that other pioneers endured and to suffer the many legal disabilities imposed upon them by an inhospitable state that finally forbade any more Negroes coming into its borders and outlawed the testimony of a Negro in the courts in cases to which a white person was a party.

To protect themselves from being captured by kidnappers to be sold into slavery, and to give their children an opportunity to attend the schools provided for them by their Quaker Friends, these Negro pioneers usually made their homes in or near Quaker settlements.

Life for a Negro in all parts of this state prior to the Civil War was a hazardous and precarious existence.

Nevertheless they looked to the future with hope, praying and trusting to God for the coming of a better day for themselves and their children. That better day did finally come after a four-year bloody war in which nearly 2 000 of the 10,000 Negroes living in the state at that time enlisted in the Union Army.

Soon after the triumph of the Union Cause in 1865, many legal disabilities of an earlier day were removed. The Negro has been granted citizenship with the right to vote, to testify in court, to hold any public office to which he may be elected or appointed, to send his children to the public schools, to engage in any trade or profession that

he chooses, and to enjoy most of the privileges and obligations of full citizenship.

During the present century, many additional families from the South have immigrated to Indiana to better their own economic condition and to give their children additional opportunities to get an education. The writer's family was one of the above.

Through a careful and thorough examination of the most authentic primary and secondary source material, records and reports in the field of the history of Indiana Negroes, and interviews with Negroes and whites who have lived in this state and in other parts of our country throughout the Era of the Civil War to the present decade, the writer has attempted to give an accurate picture of the role the Negro has played in the two-centuries-long drama of the History of Indiana.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER I

THE COLONIAL AND TERRITORIAL PERIOD THE CONTROVERSY OVER SLAVERY

Negroes have lived in the Northwest Territory, at least, ever since the French made settlements at Kaskaskia and in the adjoining region on the east bank of the Mississippi River. Slavery must have existed there and been legal prior to 1721, for during that year King Louis XV of France issued an ordinance for the regulation of that institution in that region where slave labor was utilized by the settlers to cultivate their crops.

The first Negroes known to have lived in that part of the Northwest Territory which is now the State of Indiana were either servants or slaves of the French at Vincennes which was founded by them in 1731.

The sovereignty over this territory passed from the French to the English at the close of the French and Indian War in which the French were defeated without the right of the inhabitants to hold slaves being questioned.

When England ceded this region to the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783, the right of the inhabitants to hold slaves was regarded as being inviolate.

George Rogers Clark who conquered this territory four years before the close of the War for Independence likewise respected the privilege.

One of the most important provisions of the cession of the land claims of Virginia to the United States a year after the close of the Revolutionary War was that the inhabitants thereof should enjoy all their ancient rights. One of these was the right of the inhabitants to own their laborers.

Thus it is evident that all nations that had exercised the supreme power over the region prior to 1787 respected the right of its inhabitants to own slaves.

Without giving the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory an opportunity to make known their wishes as to slavery, or attempting to poll their ideas, Congress enacted an ordinance in 1787 which forever outlawed slavery. However, since this provision was not retro-active it did not liberate the indentured servants from servitude nor the slaves from lifelong bondage.

When Indiana Territory was organized in 1800, there were twenty-eight known slaves within its boundaries. There never were many slaves in Indiana, the largest number being 237 in 1810; but the existence of servitude and slavery during the territorial period and the status to be accorded the Negro during the period previous to the Civil War provoked much heated political controversy.

Nearly all of the early settlers of Indiana Territory were native Americans and came chiefly from the South and the East. Those from the South migrated from the slave holding states of North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Those from the East left the free states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York with a few added from New England and even from Europe.

The majority of the settlers from the South made their homes in the Illinois country on the east bank of the Mississippi River, and at or near Vincennes, and in Knox and adjoining counties. They were usually pro-slavery in sentiment and therefore regarded slaves as property in much the same way as they did their domestic animals.

Settlers from the East often chose the hilly region of the Ohio River or the valley of the Whitewater. In general, they were anti-slavery in sentiment. At a later date, they were joined by a number of anti-slavery Quakers, Moravians, and others from the South who so bitterly detested slavery that they sold their property, freed their slaves, and moved to Indiana.

For the aforementioned reasons, it is not in the least surprising that the pro-slavery faction of Indiana Territory, which was in the majority at first, made a number of determined efforts to secure the suspension of Article VI of the Ordinance of 1787 for a limited time, in order that slaves might be legally brought in to relieve the acute labor shortage. Both in 1796 and again in 1800, this faction living in St. Claire and Randolph Counties in the Illinois Country petitioned Congress to suspend the anti-slavery provisions of that instrument. These petitions

did not receive the favorable action of Congress, but in spite of this, further attempts were made.

While Governor Harrison was visiting the Illinois Country on other business in the autumn of 1802, the pro-slavery group there implored him to do his utmost to secure a ten year deferment of the operation of the anti-slavery clause of the basic law of the Northwest Territory. Harrison expressed his willingness to co-operate with them in this matter, and he promised to issue a proclamation calling an election to choose delegates to a convention to give the consent of the territory to the setting aside of the operation of the anti-slavery article for a decade, provided a majority of the voters favored it. A petition requesting the Governor to issue such a call was circulated in all parts of Indiana Territory and was signed by a majority of the voters. This was presented to the Governor who issued a proclamation soon thereafter, calling for the holding of an election in all the counties of the territory on the following December 10, for the choosing of delegates. The election was duly held and the delegates were chosen.

The convention met at Vincennes the twenty-eighth of the same month and agreed to petition Congress to suspend the operation of the article outlawing slavery for a period of ten years. The slaves previously brought in and their children were to remain slaves all of their lives. This memorial with a letter of transmission from Governor Harrison was sent to Congress by a special messenger. Congress on February 8, the following year referred it to a committee of which John Randolph of Virginia was the chairman. This body made an adverse report on the requested deferment.

On December 15, the same year, Congress recommitted the petition to a committee composed of Mr. Rodney of Delaware, Mr. Boyl of Kentucky, and Mr. Rhea of Tennessee. In this connection it should be noted that all the members of this committee were from slave holding states. It reported in favor of the requested suspension with the provision that male descendants of the slaves brought in should be free at the age of twenty-five years and the females at the age of twenty-one years. However Congress took no action on the recommendation.

Notwithstanding the firm refusal of Congress to permit the importation of more slaves into the territory by ac-

ceding to the requested suspension, the pro-slavery faction attempted to nullify this article by the adoption of indenture laws. Governor Harrison met with Territorial Judges William T. Davis and Henry Vanderburg at Vincennes on September 22, 1802, and adopted "A Law concerning Servants" from the Virginia Code which contained the following provisions:

First. All Negroes and mulattoes (and other persons not being citizens of the United States of America) who shall come into this territory under contract to serve another in any trade or occupation shall be compelled to perform such contract specifically during the term thereof.

Second. The said servants shall be provided by the master with wholesome and sufficient food, clothing, and lodging and at the end of their service if they have not contracted for any reward, food, clothing, and lodging, shall receive from him one new and complete suit of clothing, suited to the season of the year, towit, a coat, waistcoat, pair of breeches and shoes, two pairs of stockings, two shirts, a hat, and a blanket.

Third. The benefit of said contract of service shall be assignable by the master to any person being a citizen of this territory to whom the servant shall in the presence of a justice of the peace freely consent that it shall be assigned and said justice attesting such free consent in writing and shall also pass to the executor, administrator, and legatee of the master.

Additional provisions of the law were: that if the servant was lazy, disorderly, guilty of misbehavior to his master or his family, refused to work, or ran away, he might be corrected by stripes on an order from a justice of the peace and compelled to serve two days for every day lost. All contracts made between a master and his servant during his term of indenture or service were void. Any person who traded with a servant without first obtaining the consent of the master was liable to pay the master four times the value of the article bought, sold, or traded, and also to forfeit to an informer twenty dollars; and on failure to pay the sum recovered, to receive on his bare back thirty-nine lashes well laid on at the public whipping post.

Another section provided that in all cases of penal law, where free persons were punishable by a fine, servants were punishable by a whipping at the rate of twenty lashes for each eight dollars of the fine.

Another section forbade the harboring, or the entertaining, of servants not having certificates of freedom under the penalty of paying the master one dollar for each day the servant or servants were harbored or entertained.

Express provisions in the tax law were made for taxing the masters of servants or slaves.

Servants were forbidden to purchase servants except those of their own race.

At the expiration of the period of indenture, the master was to give the servant a Certificate of Freedom. This was to be recorded under the hand of the Prothonotary. This law made no provision for the freedom of the servant or slave except such as was included in the contract. It was enacted so that slave owners planning to move to Indiana Territory might indenture their slaves for as long a period as they might be useful to them before they came to this territory. In most cases the term of indenture was for thirty years, or practically for life.

Soon after the United States had purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, the Anti-Harrison faction in the two counties of the Illinois Country circulated a petition asking to be joined to that territory as it seemed to them to be the shortest and surest way to legal slavery since that institution was legal there and would also tend to make closer ties with that territory. This memorial was duly presented to Congress, but that body did not approve it.

When Indiana Territory had passed from the non-representative to the representative stage of government two years later, its legislature met at Vincennes, the capital, on July 28, and elected Benjamin Parke of that city its representative in Congress. This office, he held until 1808 when he was appointed a federal judge by President Jefferson. Of the many laws which that body passed, the one that attracted the most attention was "An Act Concerning the Introduction of Negroes and Mulattoes into the Territory." The act in part follows:

1. Be it enacted by the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives and it is hereby enact-

ed by the authority of the same that it shall be lawful for any person being the owner or possessor of any Negro or mulatto of and above the age of fifteen years and owing service and labor in either of the states or territories of the United States or purchasing the same to bring the said Negro or mulatto into this territory.

2. That the owner or possessor of any Negro or mulatto as aforesaid and bringing the same into this territory, shall within thirty days after such removal, go with the same before the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, of the proper county, and in the presence of said clerk and said owner or possessor shall determine and agree to and with his or her Negro or mulatto upon the term of years which the said Negro or mulatto will and shall serve his or her owner or possessor and the said clerk is hereby authorized and required to make a record thereof in a book which he shall keep for the purpose.

3. That if any Negro or mulatto removed into this territory as aforesaid shall refuse to serve his or her owner as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for such person to within sixty days thereafter remove the said Negro or mulatto to any place which by the laws of the United States or territories from whence such owner or possessor may or shall be authorized to remove the same.

4. That any person removing into this territory and being the owner or possessor of any Negro or mulatto as aforesaid under the age of fifteen years or if any person shall hereafter acquire a property in any Negro or mulatto under the age aforesaid and who shall bring him into this territory, it shall and may be lawful for such person, owner, or possessor to hold such Negro or mulatto to labor and service, the males until they arrive at the age of thirty-five and the females until they arrive at the age of thirty-two.

5. Any person removing any Negro or mulatto into this territory under the authority of the preceding sections, it shall be incumbent on such person within thirty days thereafter, to register the name and age of such Negro or mulatto with the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of the property county.

Children born of an indentured mother were to serve her master, males until the age of thirty years, and females until the age of twenty-eight.

Any person found to be guilty of carrying or taking an indentured servant or slave out of the territory or of assisting another person in so doing was subject to a fine of one thousand dollars. One third of this sum was to be paid to the county and the remainder to the person who had been carried out against his will.

Another provision of this law was that masters of indentured servants whose term of indenture expired after the servant became forty years of age must post a bond of five hundred dollars as a guarantee that such servant would not become a public charge or dependent.

Continuing the effort again the prohibition of transporting slaves into the new settlements, on December 18, 1805, the Indiana Territory Legislature, by majority vote of its members again memorialized Congress to permit the importation of slaves into the territory for a time. St. Claire and Randolph Counties also filed a similar request with Congress during the same year.

These petitions were referred to a Committee of Congress of which Mr. Garner was chairman, and Mr. Parke of Indiana Territory, a member. This committee recommended that the Sixth Article of the Ordinance of 1787 be suspended for a period of ten years to permit the importation of slaves from the states of the United States. However Congress did not approve the recommendation of this committee.

Despite this rebuff, numerous citizens of the two Illinois counties filed a similar petition the following year and in addition asked that Illinois and Indiana Territories be separated. To this Congress gave a negative answer. During the next year the Council and the House of Representatives of Indiana Territory enacted a law permitting the time of an indentured servant to be sold on execution against his master and also giving the buyer the right to hold the servant the full time of servitude.

At the same session this body passed an additional act concerning servants and slaves wherein it was specified that in case any servant or slave should be found a distance of ten miles from the house of his master, employer, or overseer without a pass that it should be lawful for any person (white) to take him or her before a justice of the

peace who might order him or her to be punished with stripes not to exceed twenty-five.

Another section of the same act provided that if any servant or slave should "presume" without his or her master's consent to come upon the premises of another, the latter might give him or her ten lashes on his or her bare back. Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses, and seditious speeches by slaves or servants were punishable with stripes. It was also made an offense punishable by a fine in any sum not to exceed \$100.00 to harbor any such slave or servant without the consent of the master; and to assist a servant or slave to escape from his master was punishable by a fine in any sum not to exceed \$500.00.

This act and the law concerning servants adopted by the Governor and the Territorial Judges were consolidated and re-enacted in the revision of 1807, under the title, "An Act Concerning Servants."

During the same year, the Indiana Territorial Legislature implored Congress to delay the enforcement of the anti-slavery law of 1787, citing the reasons that had been given in previous entreaties and the fact that slavery was tolerated in the territories of Orleans, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and asking why it should not be permitted in Indiana, and expressed the opinion that slaves possessed by farmers in small numbers in Indiana would be much better off than they were when crowded together in large numbers as was the case in Kentucky, Tennessee, and in parts of Maryland.

At the same time the anti-slavery population of Clark County became aroused to the gravity of the situation, held a meeting at Springville, that county, October 10, 1807, and adopted a counter petition which was sent to Congress imploring that body to take no action as to the admission of slavery into Indiana Territory until the people were writing a constitution for the state. This was known as "Squatter Sovereignty."

There are good reasons for surmising that the influence of John Leman was a potent factor leading to the filing of the counter petition of Clark County at that time.

The committee of Congress to which these petitions were referred submitted an adverse report as to the postponement of the prohibition against slavery in Indiana Territory.

In this connection it is of interest to note the part that

President Jefferson played in preventing the Northwest Territory from becoming a pro-slavery domain. Late in the eighteenth century, he sent his confidential agent, John Leman, a skillful and sincere agitator against slavery to the Northwest Territory to mold public sentiment against slavery. He arrived in Kaskaskia in the summer of 1796 where he at once set to work at this assigned task. In addition to his own efforts he was assisted by agents in all parts of the territory. One or more of them is thought to have been in Clark County at the time the aforementioned convention was held. Jefferson also used his influence with Congress against the admission of slavery into Indiana Territory.

According to a law adopted by the legislature during the autumn of the same year, any person found to be guilty of permitting three or more servants or slaves to assemble in his or her or their house, outhouse, yard, or shed for the purpose of dancing or revelling by day or night was to forfeit and pay to any person who should sue to recover the same, the sum of twenty dollars.

It was the duty of all coroners, sheriffs, and justices of the peace who should see, know, or be informed of such assemblages, immediately to commit the servants and slaves making up the assemblages to the jail of the proper county to be punished by whipping of not more than thirty-nine lashes on the bare back on the day next succeeding the assemblage unless it be on Sunday. In the latter case the whipping was to be administered on the following Monday. It was the duty of the constable of the township to inflict the punishment. If there were no constable in the township, the justice of the peace was to appoint someone who was willing to perform the task.

While the total population of the territory increased from 2,500 in 1800 to 24,250 in 1810, the slave population increased from 28 in 1800 to 237 in 1810. Of the latter number 135 were found in Knox County, 87 in Clark, and 15 in Harrison. At the same time there were 393 free Negroes in the territory. There were 249 of these persons found in Knox County, 92 in Dearborn, 40 in Clark, and 12 in Harrison. The total number of Negroes in the territory at that time was 630.

There were good reasons for believing that many who were listed as free in the census were in reality practically

slaves. All the counties in which slaves were found at that time either bordered on the Ohio River, the Wabash River, or on both.

Congress passed a law in 1809 that separated Indiana Territory from Illinois and established practically the present boundary between them. This law also provided for the election by the votes of the members of the territorial council and of the territorial representative in Congress by the voters.

After this, Randolph and St. Claire Counties, both pro-slavery, were a part of Illinois Territory; too, at that time the anti-slavery population of Indiana Territory was increasing much more rapidly than was that of the pro-slavery; and as a result the anti-slavery population of the territory soon much exceeded that of the pro-slavery in number and political power.

Because of the political ascendancy of the anti-slavery population of the territory, Jesse Thomas, an anti-slavery man was chosen to fill out the unexpired term of Benjamin Parke in Congress when he was appointed a federal judge in 1808.

In the election the following year, Jonathan Jennings, the anti-slavery candidate for representative in Congress, was elected over Thomas Randolph, the pro-slavery candidate, by the overwhelming majorities that he received in both Clark and Randolph counties. Jennings was elected continuously to that office until the territory became a state in 1816. He served as the president of the constitutional convention at Corydon and was chosen the first governor of the state.

On December 14, 1810, the Territorial General Assembly repealed all the indenture laws of the territory; but the law repealing them was not retroactive, consequently it did not free the indentured servants from serving out their terms of indenture, nor did it free the slaves from life-long bondage.

In many cases indentured servants were by some means or another sold South into slavery, for slaves at that time were in great demand in that section and brought a good price.

There was a clear-cut law prohibiting slavery in the territory at that time, but it had but little force with those entrusted to its execution. They were actively working for its repeal and therefore winked at its violation.

It was no secret that slaves were held in all parts of the territory.

In addition to the laws already discussed, there were many others of much interest here. Two years earlier, a law to regulate the conducting of taverns prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquor to indentured servants and to slaves, and provided for a fine of three dollars to be assessed against tavern keepers for the first violation, and one of four dollars for all subsequent violations.

A law enacted by the General Assembly of 1814 levied a tax of three dollars annually on each male of color of Knox County between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five to provide a fund for the support of a school for Negro children of school age.

(The writer has conducted a diligent search for material on schools financed by the funds derived from this tax, but he has been unable to find any whatsoever.)

According to a law enacted by the law-making bodies of the territory in 1803, and re-enacted in 1807, masters of indentured servants and slaves between the ages of sixteen and forty years of age were required to pay an annual tax of seventy-five cents on each head except those that were infirm.

During the War of 1812, there was a scarcity of labor to keep the roads or public highways in usable repair. The General Assembly of 1814, therefore, passed a law which provided that each and every male person of color, bond and free, sixteen years of age and upward, should be subject to work on the roads or public highways as was directed by law, except those that should from time to time be exempted by the Court of Common Pleas for their respective counties on account of their entire disabilities. The law further specified that in case of default, or non-attendance of minors or servants to work on the road or public highways when legally called on as the law directs, the parent, guardian, or master should be held responsible for all fines and all costs that were recoverable by law.

After the stress of war was over, the age limit was restored to twenty-one years as formerly.

As previously stated, indentures were transferable. A copy of such a transfer follows:

I, Thomas Posey of Harrison County, Indiana, convey two Negro indentured servants, Charley and

Betsy, to Hyacinth Lassel for a term of eight years for the sum of seven hundred dollars on the 17th day of April, 1816.

(Signed) Thomas Posey

Executor of the will of his father, Governor Thomas Posey.

As time passed it became clear that slavery would very likely be prohibited when Indiana Territory became a state; therefore, many masters of indentured servants deluded them into signing new indentures when their terms of servitude were nearly out, and in many instances the servants thought that they were signing their own emancipation papers. Such an example is the one that follows:

On the 27th day of July, 1813, I, Joseph Barton, have this day set free my slave, Thomas Turner, and I hereby make and acknowledge the emancipation papers for his complete freedom. The said Thomas Turner for the privilege of being known as a free man has agreed to indenture his service for a period of thirty-five years from date. (seal) Joseph Barton.

I, Thomas Turner, do hereby accept the emancipation papers for which I sincerely thank my former master and do cheerfully agree to indenture myself to the said Joseph Barton as per the above agreement.

July 27, 1813.

On August 30, 1813, this generous-hearted Joseph Barton sold the above Negro for five hundred dollars to a person who smuggled him across the Ohio River, where he was sold into slavery and carried farther south.

During the years that Indiana was a territory the following men served as its governor: William Henry Harrison, July 4, 1800 to 1812; John Gibson (Acting), 1812 to 1813; Thomas Posey, March 3, 1813 to December 11, 1816.

PART TWO

CHAPTER II

A PIONEER STATE—EARLY NEGRO SETTLEMENTS

THE APPROACH OF STATEHOOD

Since Indiana Territory was reduced to practically its present boundaries by the Partition Act of 1809, Vincennes, the capital, was located on the extreme western boundary far from the geographical center of the territory. This made it inconvenient for the people living in the eastern part of the state to reach the seat of government and for this reason, an agitation for the removal of the capital to a more nearly central location gained much support.

A number of the leading towns of the territory bid for its location. Among them were Madison, Charlestown, Lawrenceburg, Corydon, Clarksville, and Jeffersonville. Corydon was finally selected as a compromise and the territorial government was moved thither in 1813 where it remained until it was removed to its present location, Indianapolis, in 1825.

It was estimated that Indiana Territory had a population of 63,897 in 1815—3,897 more than was required for statehood. On February 1, 1815, the territorial legislature petitioned Congress for authority to take steps toward becoming a state if the majority of the people so desired. This meant the granting of authority to call a convention of delegates from all the thirteen counties and to write a constitution for the state.

Congress responded by passing an "Enabling Act", April 19, 1816, giving the people of the territory the authority to write a constitution for themselves and to organize and conduct a state government. This act further, specifically, directed the people of the territory to hold an election the same year on May 10, to select forty-three delegates who were to meet at Corydon, the capital, the

following June 10, to form a constitution which should not be repugnant to any of the articles of the Ordinance of 1787. In short, slaves should be outlawed and the government was to be republican in form. Congress submitted two propositions to the territory which it was required to accept before it could become a state: the first was the acceptance of the boundaries outlined by the Federal Government, and the second was refraining from levying taxes on the public land within the state for a period of five years beginning December 1, 1816. Indiana Territory accepted the propositions and was formally admitted to the Union on December 11, 1816.

The Federal Government gave each township of the state section 16 to be used for the support of the education of the children living therein; the income from the salt springs of the state to a common school fund for the education of the children of the state; a full township for establishing a university; five per cent of the income from the sale of the public lands within the state to a fund for the building of public highways; and a tract of land two miles square to be used to provide a permanent state capital. These donations to the state encouraged it to push public work and indirectly attracted new settlers.

Since E. W. Summers of Tennessee wished to atone for having held forty Negroes as slaves, he petitioned the legislature of Indiana in 1816, for permission to settle in the state with them, promising if granted permission to do so to make ample provision for them so that they would never become public charges. The committee of the General Assembly to which the matter was referred replied as follows:

It would be impolitic to sanction by any special act of the General Assembly the admission of Africans into the state. The reasons are the Negro being a distinct specie, insuperable objections exist as to his participation in the rights of suffrage, representation in the government, or alliance by marriage, and consequently, he could never feel himself entirely free.

While there was some difference of opinion among the residents as to the enormity of slavery, there was scarcely any as to the Negro and mulatto coming into the state under any circumstances; they simply were not wanted

by a majority of citizens. It was alleged that free Negroes were lazy, shiftless, unable to support themselves, demoralizing to the youth of the community, dependent upon the community for support, so criminally inclined that they committed an undue proportion of crimes, and that their coming tended to keep out the more to-be-desired white settlers that could be readily absorbed as part of the population while the Negro could not. Yet it was felt that those already in the state should be protected against being seized by miscreants and sold into slavery.

It is interesting to observe conditions at that period through the eyes of a traveler, William Forester, a Quaker minister of England who visited Vincennes in 1821, and who wrote from there:

'I am very sorry to say that there are many slaves in this town. I suppose most of them were held under the territorial government but that the state legislature has made provisions for their freedom. We hear sad stories of kidnapping. I wish some active benevolent people could induce every person of color to move away from the river as it gives wicked unprincipled wretches an opportunity to get them into a boat and to carry them off to New Orleans or Missouri where they still fetch a good price. A poor man told me that he never goes to bed without having his arms in readiness for defense.

Three years before this was written John W. Osborn and Amory Kinney, two attorneys of Vincennes, had carried to the court the case of a Negro woman named Polly, daughter of a Negro woman who had been carried off by the Indians and enslaved by them during the Revolutionary War. The question at issue was, "Is she still a slave?" The Supreme Court decided that the people of Indiana meant an absolute exclusion of slavery when they adopted the Constitution of 1816, regardless of the provisions of the Virginia Deed of Cession.

Actual provisions of the Constitution of 1816 as to the Negro and the mulatto show the following:

Article I

Section 18. No Ex post facto law, nor any law impairing the validity of contract shall ever be made

and no conviction shall work corruption of blood nor forfeiture of estate.

Article VI

Section 1. In all elections not otherwise provided for by this constitution, every white male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years and upward, who has resided in the state one year immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote in the county where he resides, except such as shall be enlisted in the army of the United States or their allies.

Article VII

Section 1. The militia of the State of Indiana shall consist of all free able-bodied male persons, Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians excepted resident in said state between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years of age, except such persons as are now or may be exempted by the laws of the United States or this state, and shall be armed, equipped and trained, as the General Assembly shall provide by law.

Article VIII

Section 1. But as the holding of any part of the human creation in slavery, or involuntary servitude, can only originate in usurpation and tyranny, no alteration of this constitution shall ever take place so as to introduce slavery or involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

Article XI

Section 7. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state otherwise than for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Nor shall any indenture of any Negro or mulatto made and executed out of the bounds of this state be of any validity within the state.

Article XII

Section 1. That no evil or inconvenience may arise from the change of a Territorial Government to a permanent State Government, it is declared by this

constitution that all rights, suits, actions, prosecutions, recognizances, contracts, and claims both as it respects individuals and bodies corporate, shall continue as if no change had taken place in this government.

Section 4. All laws and parts of laws now in force in this territory, not inconsistent with this constitution, shall continue and remain in full force and effect until they expire or be repealed.

There were no provisions in the Constitution of 1816 against Negroes settling in the state. However, according to a law enacted under it in 1831, all Negroes that settled in the state after that date must give bond for their good behavior and self support. Overseers of the poor were authorized to hire out for six months any Negro who came into the state who did not have such a certificate; or on order from a justice of the peace, to return such Negro to the last place of his residence.

It was against the law for anyone to hire a Negro who had recently come into the state unless he had given such a bond. This must have decidedly tended to lessen the number of free Negroes that then settled in Indiana and also to screen out the least desirable among those who did come.

Public sentiment against the inter-marriage of members of the black and the white races was so pronounced that stringent laws were passed against it. A law passed in 1840 was typical: "A Law to Forbid the Amalgamation of Blacks and White." The law provided a fine of from one thousand to five thousand dollars, and confinement of from five to ten years in prison, for those who married in violation of this law; and a fine of from one to ten thousand dollars for those who performed a marriage ceremony between blacks and whites.

Since the terms Negro and mulatto are so frequently used in the constitution and the laws of the state, the General Assembly in 1817 passed a law defining a Negro and by implication a mulatto. All persons with one-fourth or more Negro blood were classed as Negroes and by implication, all persons who are not white but had less than one-fourth Negro blood were mulattoes. However, in both the constitutions of 1816 and of 1851 and in all laws enacted under them, applied exactly the same to Negroes and to mulattoes.

FREE NEGRO PIONEERS SETTLE IN INDIANA

From 1820 to 1850, many free Negroes, especially those from the states of Virginia and North Carolina, settled in Indiana to escape the almost unendurable restrictions imposed upon them by those states. Under the existing rules, if the right of a Negro to freedom was questioned, the burden of proof lay upon him. Moreover, he was not permitted to own a gun, a mare, a dog, or any intoxicating liquor. He could not hold a meeting unless a pro-slavery white person was present. He could not move from one county to another unless he secured permission from the government. He was not allowed to learn to read or write, and anyone who taught him these arts was liable to be punished severely by the government. Free Negroes were believed to be very potent factors in fomenting discontent and insurrection among the slaves.

Many slave states, therefore, gave free Negroes within their borders only a short time in which to leave, or suffer the probability of being sold into slavery. Since a move had to be made, many of them decided to come to Indiana as the state at that time had not forbidden their coming. Here, fertile land could be bought from the government for as little as one dollar and a quarter an acre.

There was plenty of work on the public improvement projects and in the forests at good wages. With the money that they earned at such work, they could soon buy a tract of land and become independent freeholders.

Many former slaves who had but recently been emancipated by their Quaker masters accompanied the former masters to this state where they usually established their homes in or near Quaker settlements. Here they could expect the protection of these friends against being captured by man-stealers to be sold into slavery, could avail themselves of the counsel of these friends, and could give their children the advantage of attending the schools provided by these friends.

In some instances, white owners of slaves accompanied them to the state, set them free, helped them to buy land, and otherwise assisted them to become self-supporting freeholders and independent freed men. Some of these masters were fathers of children by Negro common-law wives, who had sold their plantations and had come to Indiana with their wives and children so that their chil-

dren might enjoy better opportunities and greater freedom.

When the persecuted free Negro in the slave-holding states heard of the happier lot of his brother in Indiana, it is no wonder then that he longed to come to this land of better opportunities for himself and for his children.

Practically all the better known settlements of free Negroes made in the state at that time were developed in Gibson, Grant, Hamilton, Henry, Randolph, Rush, Wayne, and Vigo counties.

As a means of proving their legal right to their freedom, free Negroes from the South usually brought with them their highly treasured "free papers" such as the following:

State of North Carolina, County of Randolph SS.

Be it known to all persons whom this may concern that George Evins, a free person of color, has signified unto us, the undersigned, two of the justices of the peace for the county aforesaid, that he has an intention of moving his family to the state of Indiana, which consist of himself, his wife, Mary, and three children all boys, Henry, Eli, and John Columbus. This may certify that the said George Evins and family are free born. The occupation of the said Evins is that of manual laborer and shoemaker. We have been well acquainted with the said Evins and family and they bear the character of industrious and respectful. As to the moral character of the said Evins, we know of nothing but what would entitle him to the confidence and respect of any neighborhood in which he may choose to reside.

In testimony of the above, we set our hands and seal the 8th day of October, 1834.

John D. Brown, J. P.

H. Moffath, J. P.

EARLY NEGRO SETTLEMENTS

A brief account of the best known early rural settlements of free Negroes and of one urban community at this stage is of interest. Let us consider first that of Lost Creek, Vigo County.

Shortly before 1827, Bowen Roberts was sent by his people in North Carolina to seek a haven from the perse-

cutions which free Negroes were then suffering there. He passed through what is now Lost Creek Township, Vigo County, Indiana, and was very favorably impressed by it. On return home he said to his people, "Fat hogs are roaming the forests with knives and forks in their backs." This account so impressed those who heard it that they decided to emigrate to Lost Creek Township to make their homes. Those who owned ox-carts loaded them with their modest belongings, while the many who were not so fortunate decided to make the journey on foot. Those composing the caravan were the Andersons, Archers, Chavises, Roberts, Stewarts, and Trevans. George Anderson, Sr., and his sons, with the exception of Jordon, stopped briefly in Tennessee. Jordon continued the journey to Lost Creek and was its first settler.

The other families composing the caravan stopped in Orange County, Indiana, where they remained three years before coming to Lost Creek. Moses Archer and Richard Roberts came to Lost Creek settlement in early years of its history and were soon followed by Jerry Anderson, Kinchin Roberts, and Dixon Stewart.

According to the records of Vigo County, Jeremiah Anderson, Lewis Anderson, Hezekiah, Richard, and Kinchin Roberts all purchased land in Lost Creek Township from the Federal Government between 1832 and 1835.

These pioneers, after having purchased land, set to work at once to build cabins of logs for dwellings, and other purposes, to clear the land on which to cultivate crops, to fight wild animals, and to contend with diseases. They had to suffer the privations common to pioneer life at that time and in addition to endure many legal and economic disabilities on account of their race.

That these early settlers were very much interested in the higher and better things of life is proven by the fact that this group held a meeting soon after their arrival to establish a school for the education of their children. The land on which the first school house was built was purchased from Kinchin Roberts and his wife Nancy. It was one mile from Jerry Anderson's residence at the intersection of Stop 10 and the Fort Harrison road. Like practically all other private and public buildings, it was built of logs. Its support came from the payment of tuition by the parents of the children who attended the school, for the state at that time made no provision for

the support by taxation of schools for Negro children. Abel Anderson who had received the rudiments of an elementary education in his old home in North Carolina was the first teacher.

The religious side of life was not neglected, for the Reverend Paul Quinn of the A. M. E. Church organized a group of worshippers of that denomination in 1840, and the congregation built a log meeting house in which to hold its meetings. Two years later Reverend Lewis Anderson organized the Missionary Baptist Church, and his congregation built a frame building in which to worship. After being used for a quarter century it was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt the following year.

Kinchin Roberts, a public-spirited citizen of the Lost Creek community, donated the present site of School No. 3 to the township when the public schools were opened to Negro children in 1869; and Jeremiah Anderson another community-minded citizen of the settlement donated land for School No. 2 which was consolidated with the other school in later years. The first site and school house in Otter Creek Township which adjoins Lost Creek Township on the north was donated to that township by a Mr. Burnett at about the time the public schools opened their doors to Negro children. The first building was constructed of logs, but was later replaced by a frame edifice. This school was abandoned about a quarter century ago because of the small attendance, and its pupils were sent to the school for white children.

The first frame house and first cook stove seen in the community were the property of William Chandler. These so awakened the curiosity of the early settlers that they traveled from miles around to see them.

Four years after the beginning of the present century, the Knights of Pythias erected a lodge hall. The lodge prospered for a number of years. The state Grand Lodge bought a farm in the settlement and provided a home for its aged and indigent members, but later sold the farm and abandoned the project.

A large number of the descendants of the pioneers of this settlement parted with the land which they inherited from their ancestors and have now gone to industrial and commercial centers to seek their fortunes. A few of them have prospered while many have not.

In later years, a number of residents of the city of Terre

Haute purchased farm land in the community and established country homes. One of these is Morton Lewis, former principal of Lincoln School in Terre Haute. He has been an active leader of that community, organized a band, and in a number of ways stimulated the life of the settlement. About two decades ago, Vigo County erected a home for the Negro orphans of the county in this community.

The churches that were organized a number of years ago, and the consolidated school mentioned earlier, still exist and are rendering valuable service to the community.

Another group was known as **The Underwood Settlement** of Vigo County. Its early settlers like those of Lost Creek were free Negroes who emigrated from North Carolina and Virginia, especially, to Indiana, actuated by the same desires as were the first-mentioned emigrants. John Underwood, the founder of the settlement, and the one for whom it was named, was born in North Carolina in 1803. He was united in marriage to Miss Louise Kennihorn of Virginia at the age of twenty-three. Fifteen years after their marriage, the family moved to Linton Township in Vigo County where Underwood acquired a large tract of fertile land in Honey Creek Township which he and the others members of his growing family converted into a valuable farm. As he was soon joined by other members of his race, the community grew. He and a number of other members of his race who were of the Baptist faith united with the Honey Creek Baptist Church. Mr. Underwood was a member of Darnes Lodge F. and A. M. He and the other residents of the community were active in assisting slaves fleeing to Canada to elude their pursuers. Once when these pursuers of run-away slaves were threatening to do Underwood bodily harm for having assisted these fugitives, he saved himself by giving the Masonic Recognition sign. As those who were threatening him were themselves members of that lodge, they desisted from injuring him.

The citizens of the Underwood Settlement provided a subscription school for their children before the public schools were opened to Negro boys and girls.

The first teacher of the public school provided for these children was S. W. Stuart. It was abandoned when the

attendance dwindled and its pupils were sent to the school for white children.

At one time many families lived on the settlement. Among them were the Underwoods, the Russells, and the Manuels. The descendants of the early settlers have followed the usual pattern of going to industrial centers to live where they have enjoyed different degrees of success. One of these, Miss Eura Manuel, graduated from Indiana State Teachers College and was a successful teacher of the public schools of Terre Haute before her marriage to Mr. Walter Dawkins, an enterprising business man of that city. Their son, Whit, has graduated from the Alma Mater of his mother with an A. B. degree.

Only one descendant of the early settlers now remains, Mack Underwood, who still owns a part of the land that John Underwood, the founder, once owned.

Another pioneer group was the **Beech Settlement** in Rush County. The founders of which were also free Negroes who came chiefly from North Carolina and Virginia for the same reason as did the previously-mentioned emigrants. One of the first arrivals was John W. Watkins who himself had been a slave owner back in North Carolina and who had earlier set his slaves free. He came to Indiana about 1829 or 1830, with a Quaker family named Binford. Another early settler was Jim Roberts who came from North Carolina at about the time as Watkins. Twice Watkins walked back to his home in North Carolina to pilot caravans of free Negroes to Rush County, Indiana. Mr. Watkins married soon after settling in the Beech and reared a large family. By industry and thrift, he was able to acquire a large farm. Other early settlers were the Hill Brothers, William and James, and Peter Davis.

Soon after establishing themselves in the new location, these pioneers organized the Mt. Pleasant A. M. E. Church under the direction of Bishop William Paul Quinn. The Baptists followed in 1831 with a meeting house built of logs, one mile southeast of Charlottsville. Several different schools were taught there. The first school house was built on the west line of Anthony Robert's original eighty acres, and he was the teacher during the years 1838 and 1839. Alfred and Rebecca Gordon, brother and sister, and members of the Society of Friends, taught school for a time in the A. M. E. Church building. Irving

Jeffers, Clark Vaughn, and Wright Jeffers were other early teachers.

In spite of the fact that these people were fortunate in having located in a fertile district where they became prosperous farmers, a number of their descendants parted with the land which they had inherited and left the place of their birth to settle in industrial and commercial centers of this and of other states.

The young Watkins brothers moved from the community to engage successfully in the undertaking business in Kansas City, Kansas. Robert A. Roberts, who was born in the Beech Settlement, received a good education and served as the principal of Scribner High School, in New Albany, and later in the Quincy, Illinois, schools. Mrs. Louise Watkins Holbert was a successful teacher in the Terre Haute City Schools for a number of years. Nathan Hill, who also grew up in the community, became a successful teacher of the New Albany City Schools. Others who left the settlement and succeeded where their lots were cast were Mrs. Naomi English, Lucile Weaver, Goldie Watkins Mody, Nathaniel Tootle, and Mrs. Glenna Goins, who for a time engaged successfully in business in Terre Haute.

We come next to a consideration of the **Weaver Settlement** in Grant County. Early in 1840, when land was selling there for \$1.25 an acre, Aaron Betts, of Ohio, a true friend of the Negro, came to Grant County in company with a number of Negro families and interested himself in helping them to buy land in and around what is now known as Weaver, Indiana, near Marion.

This group was composed of free born Negroes, recently emancipated slaves, and fugitive slaves from Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Many of them had lived in Ohio or in other sections of Indiana before coming to Grant County.

Among these newcomers were Billy Clark, Robert Brazelton, Robert Smith, John Wright, the Weavers, and the Pettifords, none of whom had ever been slaves as far back as the immigrants could remember. The Pettifords had come to Wayne County before settling in Grant County.

Hill Chapel A. M. E. Church was built in 1847, more than a century ago and a school for Negro children was established soon after the public school doors were first

opened for such children. This settlement like the others has sent most of the descendants of the early pioneers to urban centers to seek their fortunes.

John Rhoads, Milija Waldon, Dolphon Stevens, Charles Roberts, Johnathan Roberts, and Hansel Roberts, free Negroes from the South, founded the **Roberts Settlement** in Jackson Township, Hamilton County, in 1837. They bought land from the National Government and transformed it into valuable farms. They were law-abiding Christian citizens who had the respect of their neighbors.

At first they helped to pay a white teacher who taught all the children of the neighborhood regardless of race. Later, a public school, exclusively for Negro children, was opened and was usually taught by a member of that race. Because of the small attendance at the school, it was abandoned after nearly half a century and its pupils were sent to the school formerly attended by white children only.

The newcomers were deeply religious. The Reverend Jesse Young of Indianapolis organized the African Baptist Church in a schoolhouse in Noblesville in 1853. However, religious services were discontinued two years later and were not resumed until four years thereafter when the Reverend Zack Roberts reorganized the group. About a decade after the Baptist Church was organized, the African Methodist Church was established by the Reverend Mr. Endicott of Indianapolis, in an abandoned log schoolhouse, three and one-half miles west of Noblesville on the southeast corner of Pleasant Evan's farm.

Only a few of the descendants of the early pioneers of the settlement still reside there. Most of them have followed the pattern set by other early Negro communities.

Dr. Carl G. Roberts, a descendant of one of the early pioneers of the Roberts Settlement is worthy of special mention. After obtaining an education in the leading medical schools of this country and in Europe, he became one of the leading surgeons of Chicago.

The records of Randolph County mention a Mr. Thompson, a white man who came to Greenville early in the last century with a Negro common-law wife and twelve children. He bought 3,600 acres of land and gave 300 acres to each child, spending the remainder of his life with

them. Many of his descendants still live in the vicinity of Greenville.

Thornton Alexander, with his wife and nine children, came to Greenfork Township, Randolph County, from Warrenton County, Ohio, in 1822 and settled near what is now Spartenburg where he soon entered 300 acres of land and with the help of the other members of his family transformed it into a productive farm. Ezekiel Lewis, Collier Simpson, William Lewis, Philip Holland, Alexander Davis, and John Randle joined him before the end of the year. So many free Negroes came to the community during the next two decades that there was a large number at the end of that time.

To provide for the education of the poor children of both races, Benjamin Thomas, James Moorman, James Clemens, Thornton Alexander, and other friends of the poor whites and of the Negroes made gifts to a fund to establish a school for them.

Only a few of the descendants of the pioneers still live in the community.

Among those who have left are G. W. Holland, Terre Haute, grandson of Philip Holland. One of his sons is the principal of a large high school, and the other is a college professor. The daughter is a social worker.

Soon after the settlement had been made at Greenville, other free Negroes from North Carolina and Virginia began to penetrate the wilderness farther west and to build homes in West River, Stony Creek, and White River Townships. This community was known as the **Cabin Creek Settlement**. Free Negroes arrived there as early as 1825 and continued to come until there were one hundred families and several hundred people.

Among the early settlers were John Damory, Obadiah Anderson, Richard Robbins, Samuel and Benjamin Outland, Robert Scott, Willie Crane, Abraham Cotman, Thomas Wilkerson, Mathew Chavis, Robert Ward, the Woods—Isaac, Sam, Abram, Jesse, Jacob, and Phillip—Doscha Smothers, Solomon Scott, and many others. The Federal Government sold them land which they converted into farms and homesteads.

Reverend William Paul Quinn organized an A. M. E. Church soon after the settlement was made and these people were so interested in attending worship services that they walked from three to four miles at night carry-

ing hickory torches to light their way. Ministers often walked all the way from Richmond, Indiana, to preach here, receiving only \$1.25 for their services.

Gabriel Moore, a free Negro, moved from North Carolina in 1838, to what was later known as the **Snow Hill Settlement**. He was joined two years later by William Benson, and in a few more years by Benjamin Copeland and Littleton Winburn. Not more than ten or twelve Negro families ever lived in that community, although this county was the first home of the free Negroes that came to Indiana during this period. Many of their land patents were signed by Presidents James Monroe and Andrew Jackson.

These pioneers were law-abiding, industrious, and Christian men and women. If any misfortune or trouble of any kind befell any one of them, all the others went to his assistance without any hope of reward or pay. One of them thought he had a special revelation. The story is told of a man who had recently arrived from North Carolina who was so puzzled that he went into the woods, fell down on his knees and prayed earnestly for God to guide him. The man claimed that a light sprang up and that he prospered thereafter. He was a very religious man for the balance of his life.

In Levi Coffin's *Reminiscences* (Pp. 144-151) mention is made of an early settlement of Negroes at Flat Rock in Henry County and tradition also tells of such a settlement. (However, no connected account has as yet been found by the writer in the usual sources of such information concerning such settlements.) Flat Rock was located near New Castle, the County Seat of Henry County. One of the best known settlers of that community was William Trail. His earlier whereabouts are not known. He was married and reared a family of two girls and two boys. One of the sons died before reaching maturity, but the two daughters and the other son grew to adulthood and married.

The founder of **Lyles Settlement** in Patoka Township, Gibson County, was Joshua Lyles for whom the settlement was named. He arrived from Canada early in the last century, purchased land from the Federal Government, and converted it into a valuable farm. He married and reared a large family of boys and girls who in turn lived a similar life. Thomas Cole soon joined Lyles and

also became a prosperous farmer. Cole was the first Negro in the community to own a threshing machine operated by horse power. Other Negro families soon joined them and thus the settlement grew. In the neighborhood were Josh Jones, George Hardiman, Harrison Asby, and Fuller Hardiman, who came from North Carolina in a covered wagon. Henry Cole, the Reverend Joseph Patterson, James Roundtree, and John Hardiman established homes in the nearby Black Bridge community where they became industrious, prosperous land owners.

The newcomers were deeply interested in religion and in the education of their children. They soon established churches and subscription schools. At one time there were a "Hard Shell" Baptist Church, a Free Baptist Church, and an A. M. E. Methodist Church. The Methodist Church is the only one of these early churches now in existence. It is now a neat country church and is free of debt. The early subscription schools have been succeeded by tax-supported schools. At first there were three one-room schools, but these are now consolidated into one with two teachers in charge.

The Federal Government established a post office at Lyles in 1886 with William H. Roundtree appointed as the first postmaster. He was the first Negro to hold such a position north of the Mason and Dixon line. After thirty-one years of operation, this post office was supplanted by a rural mail route from Princeton, Indiana.

As has been continually pointed out, many of the descendants of early pioneers have parted with the land which they inherited from their parents but this community is unique in that a larger per cent of these descendants still remain in this community than live in any other early rural Negro settlement in the state. According to the United States Census of 1940, more than one-half of the Negro farmers of the state live in Gibson County.

Among those who grew up at Lyles but have now gone to other communities are the following ministers of the Gospel: J. H. Fisher, W. A. Powell, Elzia Patterson, Earl Nolcox, Jesse Greer, and Hester Greer. Mrs. Greer has served as a Christian Missionary over seas.

William Chavis (afterwards a medical doctor), Samuel Roundtree, Elza Stevens, Mathias Nolcox, Charles Stevens, Joseph Lucas, John W. Lyda, Floyd Fisher, Virgil

Clift, and Miss Mildred Clift are among the teachers that grew up in that settlement.

AN EARLY NEGRO URBAN SETTLEMENT

Many free Negroes who came to Indiana at the same time as did those who settled in the rural communities previously listed made their homes in urban communities where they obtained employment in the families of well-to-do white people, worked as caterers, laundresses, waiters, barbers, blacksmiths, janitors, farm laborers, timber workers, laborers on public works, in pork packing establishments, and in various other kinds of businesses or employment.

In some instances, Negroes of their own accord indentured themselves to influential white persons so as to enjoy the protection of such persons against being kidnapped by man-stealers and being sold South by them into a worse form of slavery. During this period a Mr. Chunn of Terre Haute paid a Negro man \$320 for his services for a period of twelve years.

Like their brothers dwelling in the farming districts at this time, these urban Negroes were so interested in religion and in the education of their children that they built houses for religious worship and maintained subscription schools for the education of their children.

Such communities and their Negro population in 1850 were the following: Indianapolis had a population of 405; New Albany, 305; Madison, 295; Terre Haute, 227; Jeffersonville, 223; Vincennes, 221; Vernon, 211; Newport (Fountain County), 207; Charlestown, 151; and Richmond, 151. However, at that time more than three-fourths of the people of the state lived in the country.

Since space will not permit a detailed sketch of all of them, only one urban community, Greencastle, is given here.

The first Negroes known to have established homes in Greencastle and Putnam County came from the Southern States with their former masters before the Civil War. These masters had come to believe that slavery was wrong, to atone for this and to ease their consciences, they freed their slaves and decided to come to Indiana.

Their former slaves clung child-like to them and begged to be permitted to accompany them.

One of these was Cato Boyd, who came to Greencastle in 1836 in company with Crawford Cole to whom he had formerly belonged. Boyd established his home two miles northeast of Greencastle and made his living by burning charcoal. By industry and thrift he became the owner of twenty acres of land. He learned to read and to write and gained a fair knowledge of law from a study of preparatory law books. Hannah Cole was another early newcomer to that city. She made a living by doing laundry work. She was honest and industrious and enjoyed the respect of the best citizens of Greencastle and Putnam County. Living in this city at the same time was Millie Cooper who earned her living as a servant in the home of W. K. Cooper. Moses Smith, another resident, waited table at the parties of the best families in the community. He married Millie Cooper but they parted and he went to Rockville to live. Soon after the close of the Civil War, Mr. and Mrs. Luke Townsend, former slaves, settled in Greencastle. Both were industrious, thrifty, and law-abiding citizens of that municipality. Mr. and Mrs. John Brown and their sons, Cal and Jan settled in the city at about the same time as did the Townsends. The father was a barber, and the mother, a caterer, both highly respected citizens. After living in the city a few years, the two families moved to Canada. Other Negro families settled in Greencastle after the Civil War until there were enough Negro children for a school when the public schools were opened to such children. However, because of diminished attendance, in a few years it was closed and its pupils were sent to the other city schools.

To minister to the spiritual needs of the city, a small Baptist Church was erected.

One of the earliest Masonic Lodges and one of the first Eastern Star Chapters were organized in Greencastle. The state body of the Order of the Eastern Star was organized there in 1888.

Greencastle is the seat of DePauw University. Most of the Negroes who have recently gone there to live maintain themselves by working at the many sorority and fraternity houses located on the campus of the university.

During the second decade of the present century, the Julian family, consisting of the parents, three boys, and two girls, settled in Greencastle that their children might have a better opportunity to get a good education than

was theirs in Alabama. One of the sons is a noted chemist while the other two sons are successful practicing physicians in Baltimore, Maryland. One of the daughters is a Y. M. C. A. worker in New York City, and the other is a teacher.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF STATEHOOD

THE NEGRO AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1851

The status to be accorded the Negro by the Constitution of 1851 received very much more attention at the Indianapolis convention than it had at Corydon, in 1816.

The discussion was first evoked by a resolution introduced by Schuyler Colfax of St. Joseph County, "that the committee on elective franchise be instructed to inquire into the expediency of separately submitting the question of Negro suffrage to the people." Colfax, himself, was opposed to Negro suffrage; but he called attention to the fact that there were from 5,000 to 10,000 people (The Liberty Party) that favored it. The debate educed the fact that the only delegate in the convention who favored Negro suffrage was Edward May of Dekalb and Steuben Counties, and that with some restrictions, May voted in favor of the resolution against the other 124 who voted against it. Later a discussion of the problem of the exclusion of the Negro and mulatto from coming into Indiana came up for consideration. A vast majority of the delegates favored excluding them from coming into the state, asserting that the Negro was a distinct specie that could never be amalgamated or admitted to citizenship; that the slave states were excluding free Negroes from their borders, thereby driving them into Indiana and other free states; that if Indiana did not protect herself against this, she would be overrun by decrepit and worn out Negroes from Kentucky; and to prevent this, free Negroes ought to be sent to Africa and colonized in Liberia where they would be free and happy.

Several delegates expressed their deep sympathy for the Negro, but they did not want him in Indiana. Robert Dale Owens, one of the leaders, asserted:

They can never obtain social rights here. We ought not to have them amongst us. They are daily increasing in number but of necessity must remain disfranchised, a class of people to be taxed without being represented.

Schuyler Colfax in discussing this subject further said in part:

Sir, I shall not deny that the black race of this country is debased, that as a class, they are inferior to the whites, that they are poor, weak, and to some extent degraded. I admit their intellectual and social inferiority. But, I ask, Gentlemen, who tell me all these things, who before the judgment bar of God who created us and them, is responsible for this degradation? They are debased by the lust and avarice of the white race. We are about to abrogate what the founders of our state declared to be an inherent and an inalienable right and to declare that black men shall be prohibited from immigrating to within our limits and from purchasing a homestead with the proceeds of his toil.

Colfax later in this speech declared that the Negro problem in Indiana could be solved by the colonization of free Negroes in Liberia, West Africa, and that the Federal Government should transport them there free of charge.

What the majority of the delegates approved as to the status of the Negro living in the state and those living without may be determined by an examination of the constitution that was adopted.

The constitution as a whole, except Article XIII, the so-called Negro Exclusion Article, was submitted to the people separately. The vote for the former was 113,230 for adoption and 27,638 against. For the Negro Exclusion Article, the vote was for exclusion 113,828 and against exclusion 21,873.

Four counties in northern Indiana—Elkhart, LaGrange, Randolph, and Steuben—gave a vote of 2,130 for exclusion to 3,034 against exclusion—a majority of 904 against exclusion.

The Negroes of the state were keenly aware that they were being denied many of the generally recognized rights of citizens of a democracy; hence, a number of them and their friends living in Allen, Clark, Floyd, Henry, Howard, Marion, Randolph, Union, and Wayne Counties implored the constitutional convention not to take away from the free Negroes living outside the state, the privilege of settling in the state, not to take away from the Negroes living in the state the right to own property, and also to grant them the right to vote and all the other rights of citizenship.

Citizens of Clark and Howard Counties at the same

time petitioned the convention to pass a law forbidding any more free Negroes coming into the state.

The Constitution of 1851 as finally drawn up contained the following provisions as to the Negro and the mulatto:

Article I

Section 37. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within the state otherwise than for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. No indenture of any Negro or mulatto made and executed without the bounds of the state shall be valid within the state.

Article II

Section 5. No Negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage.

Article XII

Section 12. The militia shall consist of all able-bodied white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except such as may be exempted by the laws of the United States or of this state, and shall be organized, officered, armed, equipped, and trained in such manner as may be provided by law.

Article XIII

Section 1. No Negro or mulatto shall come into the state after the adoption of this constitution.

Section 2. All contracts made with any Negro or mulatto coming into the state contrary to the provision of the foregoing section shall be void, and all persons who shall employ such Negro or mulatto or otherwise encourage him to remain in the state, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars.

Section 3. All fines that may be collected for a violation of the provisions of this article or of any law which may hereafter be passed for the purpose of carrying the same into execution shall be set apart and appropriated for the colonization of such Negroes and mulattoes and their descendants as may be in the state at the time of the adoption of this constitution and may be willing to emigrate.

Section 4. The General Assembly shall pass laws to carry out the provisions of this article.

Two laws were passed by the 1851-1852 legislature to carry out the provisions of Article XIII. The one passed April 28, 1852, appropriated \$5,000 and all fines collected for the violation of this article to the use of the American Colonization Society.

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Of this amount, \$3,000 was to be spent in purchasing land in Africa. Each Negro that emigrated to that continent was to be given 100 acres of land and \$50 in money.

Another law enacted by the same legislature provided for the registration of all Negroes living in the state previous to the adoption of the Constitution of 1851, with the clerk of the county in which he lived. The clerk was required to issue a certificate to each Negro that he registered, giving him the privilege of continuing to reside in the state and the right to make contracts. Only those who had such a certificate could be legally hired.

The legislature of 1856 passed an act that outlawed the testimony of any person with one-eighth or more of Negro blood in cases of law to which a white person was a party.

While the majority of the citizens of the state favored the passage and the enforcement of such restrictive measures as the above, there was an active minority composed of the Friends or Quakers that favored following a more liberal policy. At the same time the Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a number of resolutions condemning slavery. This made every minister of that denomination an active anti-slavery agitator.

An instance of the hardship under the enforcement of Article XIII of the Constitution of 1851 may be cited in the case of Arthur Berkshire who brought Eliza Keith, a woman of his own race, to Rising Sun, in Ohio County, where they were united in marriage. Berkshire was arrested and fined ten dollars for having violated Article XIII. Johnson W. Jordon, an attorney, appealed the case to the State Supreme Court, which held that marriage was no defense, that the marriage was void, and that Eliza Keith was also subject to prosecution for having come into the state in violation of the Negro Exclusion Article of the recently adopted Constitution.

KIDNAPPING

The life of Negroes and mulattoes during the territorial period, and that of statehood prior to the Civil War, was a perilous and unhappy existence due in part to the ever present fear of being kidnapped by unprincipled miscreants and sold into slavery.

The kidnappers carried out their purpose by driving their intended victim away from the vicinity of his friends and of quickly seizing him and rushing him out of the state against his will, usually into Kentucky, where their confederates in the crime assisted them in selling the victim into slavery.

Henderson, Kentucky, was the location of one of the most notorious of these bands. Free, indentured, and slave Negroes and mulattoes of Indiana just simply disappeared. Unprincipled Negroes, especially unscrupulous women, often assisted these detestable criminals in plying their nefarious business.

Often corrupt justices of the peace, United States Commissioners, and perhaps other magistrates, were friendly partners of the kidnappers and shared in the profits made from sales. In every case involving the right of a Negro or mulatto to freedom tried before these magistrates, the testimony of a white person, only, was accepted. If the magistrate decided in favor of the Negro or mulatto, he received a fee of only five dollars; but if he decided against him, and in favor of the kidnapper, he received ten dollars, a bribe of five dollars for deciding against the victim and also part of the money the man-stealer received from the sale. This was an alluring temptation for the magistrate to decide against the victim.

On at least one occasion, during his term as Governor of the territory, Harrison intervened to save a Negro named George from being carried out of the state by kidnappers. He issued a proclamation against kidnapping and caused the guilty person to be arrested and to be tried by the court for the crime. George later indentured himself to Harrison for a term of years.

At this point, the following cases may well be cited. In 1813, John Judson came to Indiana Territory and brought with him two able-bodied Negro men. Judson made a camp near the town of Patoka, Gibson County. His father had died two years earlier in Middle Tennessee

and, as part of his will, he had specified that his son John should take the two Negroes to the territory that was under the Ordinance of 1787 and leave them there. To each Negro he gave one hundred dollars and a note or contract that called for one hundred dollars to be given yearly to each as long as he lived. The money for these payments was to be sent annually to the land office in Vincennes. Judson left the two men but before the year was out they were missing. They were doubtlessly kidnapped and sold into slavery. The payments were made for several years, but were finally returned to Mr. Judson.

At about the same time a Negro woman indentured to John Warrick of Owensville, Gibson County, was carried off to Kentucky by man-stealers and sold into slavery. Fortunately, she was later discovered by a friend who took up with the Kentucky court the matter of her having been kidnapped in Indiana. The court released her because she had lived in Indiana under the Ordinance of 1787.

Another similar case was that of Rube, who had been set free by his master, Jacob Sanders of South Carolina, and who had legal relinquishment papers with him when he came to Gibson County about 1817 where he secured employment on the farm of William Barret. Rube did not like the cold winters of Indiana so he decided to return to South Carolina. He went to Princeton, Indiana, hoping to go from there to Evansville, and finally back home. While journeying from Princeton to Evansville, he was seized by kidnappers and sold into slavery. Years afterwards, the son of his former employer discovered Rube working on a boat on the lower Mississippi River. Through his efforts, Rube was set free and finally returned to his home in South Carolina.

The crime of kidnapping was carried on to such an extent that it was called "the chief offense" of that period as early as 1816-1817. In his message to the General Assembly that year Governor Jennings called attention to the crime as follows:

I recommend to your consideration the propriety of providing a law to prevent more effectually any unlawful attempt to seize and carry into bondage persons of color legally entitled to their freedom; and at the same time as far as practicable to prevent those who rightfully owe service to the citizens of

another state or territory from seeking within the limits of this state a refuge from the possession of their lawful owners. Such a measure will tend to insure those who are free from any unlawful attempt to enslave them and secure the rights of citizens of other states and territories as far as ought to be reasonably expected.

As the majority of the members of the legislature agreed with Jennings, they passed the act requested. The law provided that anyone who claimed the right to the service of a fugitive slave must bring such person before a justice of the peace or judge of the circuit court for a hearing. If the judge thought that the claim was well-founded, he might bind the fugitive so claimed over to the next term of the circuit court for a jury trial as to his right to his freedom. In any event, the claimant had to pay the court cost. A person guilty of kidnapping was subject to be fined in any sum from \$500 to \$1,000. For assisting a fugitive to elude being captured by his master was finable in the sum of \$500. Two citizens of Wayne County were so fined in 1825. Giving a slave a false certificate of emancipation was punishable by a fine of \$1,000. According to a law enacted January 2, 1819, any justice of the peace or judge of the circuit court might hold a special session of court at which a fugitive slave might be given a jury trial. This law also added to the \$500 to \$1,000 fine as punishment for kidnapping, a public whipping of not less than ten nor more than one hundred lashes. Officers of the law had the right to arrest fugitive slaves and to recover pay for keeping them. William Lemon, a constable, collected eight dollars from the owner of a slave that he had arrested and kept a short time.

At this point one should recall the fact that in 1805 and again in 1807, during the territorial period, laws that provided a fine of \$1,000 as punishment for kidnapping were passed, but these laws did not deter the kidnappers and their accomplices from engaging in this wicked but very profitable crime.

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the kidnapping of all classes of Negroes greatly increased in all the free states bordering on the slave states from the Atlantic Ocean to the western frontier. Many revolting crimes were committed by criminal white men in the name of the law. These men were simply kidnappers.

According to the reminiscences of Typus Lyles, of Lyles Settlement in Gibson County, he took part in driving away a band of man-stealers who attempted to carry off members of a free Negro settlement in Vanderburg County a few years before the outbreak of the Civil War. Because of the frequent kidnappings that had occurred in the state, the members of this community were on the alert for such attacks as the one that occurred. The Negroes were therefore ready at all times to defend themselves with such weapons as they had, such as fence rails, corn knives, pitch forks, muskets, and clubs. The Negroes who took part in this defended themselves with such ferocity and courage that the would-be-kidnappers were beaten off, carrying with them their severely injured companions.

Two free Negroes who lived in Rockport and who had been working on the Wabash and Erie Canal between Terre Haute and Washington in 1850, decided to return home by walking. After having reached Washington, they were accosted by two white men who offered them a free ride to the Ohio River. The Negroes readily accepted the offer and climbed into the wagon. When they were well on their way, the white men drew guns on them and threatened to do them harm unless they consented to be tied securely. Unwillingly the Negroes consented. Soon after the wagon had crossed the White River ferry on the way to Petersburg, Mr. Stucky, a white man, passed the wagon containing the bound Negroes. He knew one of the white men in the wagon and, knowing the kind of man that he was, suspected that the Negroes were being kidnapped, to be sold into slavery. Mr. Stuckey at once contacted John W. Posey and a number of other white men who were active in the work of the Underground Railroad. They pursued and overtook the wagon containing the Negroes. By talking with them they discovered that what they had suspected was true—the Negroes were being kidnapped. Mr. Stucky and his band took the white men and the Negroes out of the wagon and into the woods, cut two large hickory switches, and told the Negroes to give their abductors a good thrashing and to spare them not. This the Negroes certainly did. The liberating band then gave the Negroes the horses and wagon for their own and told the white men to run for their lives and not to look back or they would be shot.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1816, to promote the removal of free Negroes to Africa, especially to Liberia. The Indiana Branch was organized in Indianapolis, November 4, 1829. Local branches were organized in many communities where money for carrying out its purpose was collected in the churches.

Slave owners favored the society because they regarded the very presence of free Negroes in their midst as a threat to slavery; and the free states, such as Indiana, regarded the complete separation of the races as being to the best interest of both. For these reasons both supported it.

When the problem as to the status to be accorded the Negro by the Constitution of 1851 came up for solution, a large majority favored colonization, as previously stated. By an act passed early in 1852, \$5,000 was appropriated for the use of the Indiana branch of the society to promote the emigration of the Negroes of the state to Liberia. The act met with little enthusiasm.

Altogether 6,000 American Negroes from the whole country emigrated to Africa between 1821 and 1867. A few of them were from Indiana, among them was the Stevens family, consisting of the mother and the father, and of their son and his wife of Greencastle. The mother died at sea and was buried there.

At the middle of the last century, many leading men of the state looked upon the work of the society as a humane one to solve the problem of what to do with the Negroes, especially the free Negroes. How wrong they were may be judged by later events.

EDUCATION

That the people of the United States as a whole, of the Northwest Territory, Indiana Territory, and of the State of Indiana in particular have wisely regarded education very highly is shown by the provisions which they inserted in the supreme legal documents of the regions from the very first.

The Ordinance of 1787 declared:

Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary for good government, and the happiness of man-

kind, schools and the means of education ought to be forever encouraged.

The Enabling Act passed by Congress giving the people of Indiana Territory the authority to become a state of the Union provided that every sixteenth section of every township should be granted to the people thereof for the use of the schools of the township and that a whole township should be set aside for the use of a state university.

Article IX, Section 2 of the Constitution of 1816 provides:

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a state university wherein tuition shall be gratis to all.

The constitution made no provision for raising the money to finance the schools. In spite of this neglect, a number of schools were established.

Article VIII, Section 1 of the Constitution of 1851 states:

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools wherein tuition shall be without charge and equally open to all.

Article VIII, Section 8 provided for the election of a superintendent of Public Instruction by the voters of the state for a term of two years.

The Negroes were not permitted to attend any school under the provisions of the Constitution of 1816. Negroes and their friends then petitioned the legislature to set aside a fair share of the school revenue for the education of Negro and mulatto children. The state refused and even passed a law in 1837 that excluded them therefrom. The Negroes and their friends questioned the fairness and the legality of the law of 1837 and appealed to the State Supreme Court. The Court handed down a decision upholding the law. This meant that the schools were for white children only.

As no system of public education in the state worthy of the name existed in Indiana prior to the Civil War, it

is no wonder then that she ranked as the most illiterate northern state during that period. Such schools as there were at that time were conducted by church bodies and groups of private citizens who favored providing children an opportunity to get an education.

Of the church groups, the Catholic Church is worthy of special mention for it opened its schools to all children regardless of religion or race. Other churches conducted schools for the children of their members and charged a fee ranging from \$1.75 up to \$2.50 per term for each pupil. In many Sunday Schools, a part of the time was spent in teaching the pupils to read and to write.

Reverend Hiram Revels, pastor of Allen Chapel A. M. E. Church of Terre Haute, taught one of the first such schools in the state. Similar schools were taught in many other settlements by the pastor who was generally the best educated person in the community and sometimes by sympathetic white friends who were in most cases members of the Quaker or Friends Church.

During the early part of the last century, the New Garden Yearly Meeting of the Friends or Quaker Church founded a school for the education of the Negro and mulatto children of Wayne County. This was a continuation of the philanthropic educational effort of this church which its members had carried on in North Carolina and in Virginia before coming to Indiana. Levi Coffin, the so-called president of the Underground Railroad, was an enthusiastic supporter of this praiseworthy effort.

A number of philanthropically inclined anti-slavery citizens of Randolph County, who believed that the Negro and the poor whites should have an opportunity to get an education, made many donations to a fund to establish the Union Literary Institute in that county. One of the donors gave one hundred acres of land. Many other friends of this effort also made gifts to the fund. The Institute was chartered by the state and opened its doors to pupils in 1846. Ebenezer Tucker, a man with an unusually attractive and inspiring personality, was the first principal. According to his pupils, he was a very successful teacher with the ability to inspire his pupils to want to learn. This school became so well-known in its early years that it attracted many Negro pupils from far and wide, and even from the South.

Manual labor was used as a wholesome and valuable

educative agency in the Institute much more successfully than it has been used in many such experiments.

The Institute continued to operate successfully until the tax-supported schools of the state were opened to Negroes. It then became a public school.

A petition asking that a fair share of the school revenue be appropriated for the education of Negro and mulatto children was presented to the Legislature of 1846-1849, but the committee to which it was referred reported that legislation on that subject would be inexpedient.

The General Assembly in 1853, passed a law which provided that in no case were Negroes to pay school taxes nor were their children to attend the tax supported schools.

After the state school system came into existence as a result of the law enacted two years later providing for the election of township trustees and for the appointment or election of school trustees in the larger towns and the cities of the state, the Terre Haute City Council held a meeting on May 7, 1855, and adopted an ordinance which reads in part as follows:

It is expressly declared and understood that nothing in this ordinance shall be so construed as to permit a mulatto or Negro person or child to attend any paid school or to receive instruction therein.

Negro children of that city were not admitted to the public school until 1869 when the racial bars against them were removed throughout the state.

RELIGION

Religion like education has always made an almost irresistible appeal to the members of all races.

There were two distinct classes of society in the early years of the state, the criminal who found the restraint of law disagreeable, and his converse, the clean, conscientious, and law-abiding. The conversion of the former class to the latter was the main objective of the churches through frequent revivals.

The first churches were often organized in the homes of their members, in schoolhouses, or even in groves, and usually held their meetings in the place of founding. The first churches were of logs and were built cooperatively by the people of the community. The sites, material, and

labor were customarily donated by the people of the vicinity. Log buildings were later replaced by frame and brick edifices.

Many of the early ministers were circuit riders who served as the pastor of more than one church. They traveled on horseback from one community to another carrying the Bible and the rifle for protection.

The Catholic Denomination was the first in the state to erect churches. The first church of that denomination was built by the French at Vincennes soon after it was established. As new settlers came into the state, the Baptist, the Methodist, and the Christians (Disciples of Christ) built churches. Other Protestant denominations, such as the Quakers, the United Brethren, the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, the Presbyterians, and the Unitarians, organized congregations and built churches as members of these denominations began to establish homes.

Religion played an important role in the early life of the Negro pioneers. After the early settlers had built log cabins for dwellings and for other purposes, they soon afterwards erected log churches which also served as the community and civic center of the neighborhood.

Now and then, especially during the winter season, revivals, surcharged with religious emotion, and festivals, socials, and other community meetings were held and were well attended.

The circuit riding preacher previously mentioned was used by all the denominations, for this method of pastoring was well suited to the frontier conditions. Many early ministers showed a zeal that led them amid great hardships and sacrifices to carry the Gospel to isolated communities. Reverend William Paul Quinn and Reverend Lewis Artist were notable examples of such ministers.

The early churches were strict in enforcing their rules. Members, old and young, who violated the restrictions were often "churched", turned out of the congregation until they showed proper humility and penitence and promised to obey the rules of the congregation thereafter.

The following is a list of a few of the early churches and the date of their organization:

The Baptist Church at the Beech in Rush County 1830.

The A. M. E. Methodist Church, the Beech, about 1830.

Allen Chapel A. M. E. Methodist Church 1837.
Lost Creek A. M. E. Methodist Church, Vigo County
1840.

The Second Baptist Church, Indianapolis 1842.

Bethel A. M. E. Church, Indianapolis, about 1842.

A. M. E. Church at Carthage 1846.

Hill Chapel A. M. E., at Weaver near Marion 1849.

Lost Creek Baptist Church, Vigo County 1842.

Second Baptist Church, New Albany 1842.

A. M. E. Methodist Church, Richmond 1836.

CHAPTER IV

THE ERA OF THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

SETTING THE STAGE

Most of the commercial transactions of Indiana during the territorial and early state period were with the South because the Mississippi River and its tributaries were the chief highways of trade and travel; and the flatboat, and later the steamboat, carried the surplus products of the state to the market at New Orleans.

The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, the extension of the National Road from the Atlantic seaboard to Indiana, and the construction of the railroads from the same region to the West diverted much of the trade and travel of Indiana and the adjoining section to the East, and also stimulated the migration of pioneers from that section to the states of the Northwest Territory.

In part, at least, as a result of this closer commercial relation of the state with the East, she was ready to cast her lot with the Union during the Civil War.

There had been no considerable escape of slaves from the border states into Indiana until after the close of the War of 1812. Perhaps this was because the slaves knew nothing of Canada at that time and also because there were no roads open from the Ohio River to that country.

John F. Williams of Owensville, Gibson County, says that slaves did not begin to come into Indiana until after 1820, a date confirmed by other authorities.

Since there was a very great demand for slaves in the cotton growing states, and since the supply from abroad had been cut off, they brought a high price in that section. This tempted the owners of surplus slaves in the states south of the Ohio River to sell many of them South, resulting in the breaking up of many slave families. This fear of the slaves of having their family life broken up by its members being sold South tended greatly to add to the stream of run-away slaves that crossed the Ohio River into Indiana.

The state of Indiana was the most like the South of any of the states carved from the Northwest Territory;

for a large majority of the earliest settlers came from that section and were willing to let that section solve its problem of slavery without interference by them.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT

Charles Osborn settled in the state in 1818. Four years earlier he had organized the Tennessee Manumission Society that advocated the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves. He had also launched the publication of **The Protectionist** at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1816, the first anti-slavery paper published in the United States. He continued to live in the state until his death in 1842.

Levi Coffin, one of the best known early abolitionists, emigrated from North Carolina to Indiana with his wife in 1826 and settled at Newport (now Fountain City) in Wayne County, a few miles north of Richmond where he conducted a general store for twenty years. On his arrival, he found many free Negroes engaged in assisting fugitive slaves to escape being apprehended by slave-catchers and he joined with the free Negroes in that effort. He became known as the president of the Underground Railroad, and his home at Newport was called its union station. As many as three thousand fugitive slaves may have been sheltered there during the twenty years that the Coffins occupied the house.

According to tradition, Mrs. Stowe obtained material for the story of Eliza in her book **Uncle Tom's Cabin** from Mrs. Coffin, and Eliza herself was said to have stopped for a short time at the home of the Coffins in Newport.

At a later date, Coffin said of this period, "It tried a man's soul to be an Abolitionist during those days when brickbats, stones, and rotten eggs were some of the arguments he had to face."

Most of the early efforts to persuade slaves in the South to run away from their masters were made by free Negroes who still had relatives in bondage. They were willing to make almost any sacrifices to rescue their friends and loved ones.

William Lloyd Garrison, in the first issue of **The Liberator** in 1831, advocated the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves favored by Osborn nearly two decades earlier. The next year the New England Aboli-

tion Society was organized, followed in two years by the American Abolition Society.

This movement soon spread to Ohio and to Indiana, but Indiana was not aggressively anti-slavery. The first Abolition Society was organized here in 1836. At the end of two more years only seven more had been added. But in Ohio there were 300 such organizations. To awaken greater interest and enthusiasm in the anti-slavery cause, Arnold Buffum, a noted Rhode Island Quaker Abolitionist and charter member of the New England Abolitionist Society, came to Indiana in 1840. For a time he lived with the Coffins at Newport, lecturing to anti-slavery audiences in Wayne and adjacent counties and publishing **The Protectionist**, the first anti-slavery paper of the state. Thereafter, abolition sentiment increased more rapidly in Hoosierland, and opposition to it grew more rampant.

When Frederick Douglas attempted to speak at Pendleton that year he was almost slain by the missiles from the pro-slavery mob. In spite of such opposition, abolition societies soon sprang up in Wayne, Henry, Randolph, Hamilton, Jay, and other counties.

This growth of abolition sentiment disturbed the peace of the Quaker Church to such a degree that the 1841 Yearly Meeting issued a warning to its members not to take an active part in promoting the movement. At that time those in active charge of the church and of the government of the state favored the colonization of the Negro in Africa as the best solution of the Negro problem. Many Quakers paid no heed to the warning but continued to be active in the Abolition Movement. Among them were Charles Osborn, Benjamin Stanton, editor of **The Free Labor Advocate**, William Locke, and Jacob Grave. For this they were disqualified (churched) at the next Yearly Meeting. A dozen more members were soon added to this list. They met at Newport two years later where they organized the Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting of the Quaker Church, a division which continued for thirteen years before it was finally reconciled. During the separation the parent Yearly Meeting became more tolerant of the Abolition Movement.

Trouble of this nature was not confined to the Quaker Church. At the meeting of the Methodist Church in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1844, that denomination split into

a northern or anti-slavery branch and a southern or pro-slavery branch which were not re-united until a few years ago.

These examples are only two of the many that might be cited as illustrations of the moral awakening that was taking place that made it easier for fugitive slaves to elude their pursuers and to reach Canada and freedom.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

To put an end to the great financial losses of many slave owners through the escape of their slaves, Virginia's Senator Mason, one of the "fire eaters of the South" in his hatred of the North drafted the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. One of the provisions of this law was that anyone who harbored a slave or otherwise prevented a master from capturing his slave was subject to a fine up to \$1,000 and imprisonment of six months for each fugitive involved, and denied fugitive slaves the right of a jury trial. Section Six of that law reads, "In no trial or hearing under this law shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted as evidence." This statute also gave slave owners the right to organize posses in any state or territory of the United States to pursue and capture their run-away slaves. All cases involving fugitive slaves were to be heard and determined by United States Commissioners and United States Marshals were to execute all warrants in such cases. These marshals were given the authority to summon any by-stander to assist them in carrying out the duties of their office. All good citizens were commanded to assist in the efficient and prompt carrying out of this law.

In his inaugural address, December 31, 1850, Governor Wright of Indiana asserted concerning the new legislation, "There is but one course of action for the true patriot to pursue and that is unhesitatingly and in good faith carry out this enactment."

The general attitude of the newspapers of the state toward the situation at that time is expressed in the October 10, 1850 issue of **The Madison Weekly Courier**, as follows: "We don't like the law, probably never will. We shall not, however, do anything by word or deed to nullify or prevent its being carried into force in Indiana."

But there was an active minority at that time deter-

mined not to give its passive assent and aid to the enforcement of the hated law. At a meeting of such a group in Jefferson County, the following resolution was adopted:

. . . that we will not assist the bloodhounds of slavery to capture any of the downtrodden sons and daughters of Africa, and that we will feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and shelter the stranger, as God commands, to the best of our ability.

Another meeting, at Washington, adopted the following resolution: "We hereby pledge ourselves before God and man to seek to prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law." Similar resolutions were adopted at many places in the eastern part of the state.

George W. Julian, a member of Congress from that section of Indiana, denounced the law in a speech before that body and declared that it could not be enforced in his state.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Long before the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law by Congress, a number of persons opposed to slavery, and groups of such persons, had been assisting fugitive slaves to escape being captured by their pursuers and to reach freedom in Canada. They fed them, clothed them, hid them by day, and conducted them by night on their way to Canada,

At first this work was carried on by small bands of Christian people, but as the number of fugitives greatly increased so did the task of supplying their needs and that of conducting them safely to their destination. This had to be carried on by clandestine methods, as we have seen there were severe punishments for those engaged in it—should they be caught.

According to William M. Cockrum, who lived in the southern part of Indiana during the greatest activity of the Underground Railroad, that organization had more than one hundred intelligent young and middle-aged men scattered on both sides of the Ohio River from a little way above Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the Mississippi River, as well as a detective system that was superior to anything that the slave-owners or the government had. The Underground Railroad agents stationed south of the

Ohio River professed to be of many different occupations and professions: teachers, engineers, geologists, surveyors, real estate agents, peddlers, and tinkers. They mixed freely with the slave owners and pretended to be proslavery in sentiment. They never engaged in political arguments, but agreed readily with the politics of the majority of the people among whom they were stationed. Ten of the young men acted as spies assisting the other agents in carrying on their work of aiding the fugitive slaves to reach freedom in Canada with such stealth that they were never suspected of being active agents of the Underground Railroad.

To carry on this work efficiently, a different superintendent was placed in charge of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The man in charge of Indiana was J. T. Hanover, alias John Hansen, aided by his assistants. He served in this capacity seven years and was active at all times, traveling over the counties of the southern part of the state and directing the work of those who served under him. All his helpers were under strict discipline in carrying out their assignments. For a time, he lived at the home of Colonel Cockrum near the present site of Oakland City in Gibson County. The task of supplying the fugitives with food, clothing, and shelter entailed much labor and considerable expense. The women were very active in providing these necessities.

The most difficult problem that the escaping slave had was that of crossing the Ohio River. To solve this problem, the Underground Railroad provided boats manned by its agents at a number of strategic points. These ferry-men posed as fishermen, selling their catch by day to the boats that passed up and down the river and to people of the neighboring communities; but at night, they brought the fugitives across the river to Indiana.

There were three main lines of the Underground Railroad crossing Indiana: the western, the middle, and the eastern. The western route crossed the Ohio River at or near Evansville and passed through the cities of Princeton, Terre Haute, Lafayette, and South Bend; the middle route originated with three branches, one each from Leavenworth, New Albany, and Madison, and led through Columbus, Indianapolis, and South Bend; and the eastern route originated at Cincinnati and Lawrenceburg, and led through Richmond, Newport (Fountain City, the home

of Levi Coffin), Winchester, Portland, and Fort Wayne. The latter was the most used of the three routes.

After the fugitives had reached the state of Michigan by any route, they were smuggled aboard lumber boats and carried to Canada.

There is no way of telling exactly just how many fugitive slaves passed through Indiana from 1830 to 1850, the time of the greatest activity of the Underground Railroad. The best estimate is that as many as 2,000 came through the state each year, and as the period covered was thirty-one years, the total may have been 62,000 fugitive slaves.

One run-away slave that came to Indiana from Tennessee over the Underground Railroad was Robert Burrel who settled at Flat Rock in Henry County in 1850. He went to Newport where he asked Levi Coffin for work. Coffin employed him. He proved to be a dependable worker but was always sad. Having gained his confidence, Coffin ventured to ask him why he was so depressed. Burrel told him that he was separated from his family in Tennessee and asked his help. Through his friends and co-workers, Coffin contacted Burrel's wife and children, and succeeded in bringing them to Newport where the family was re-united. Burrel continued in the employment of Coffin, saved his earnings, and bought a home. The family lived together happily thereafter.

At about this time, a slave owner from the South apprehended a Negro on the streets of Richmond, claiming him to be his escaped slave. He attempted to lay hands on the Negro and struck him a severe blow. The white spectators had the slave owner arrested and carried before a justice of the peace who fined the man for assault and battery upon the Negro and let the Negro go free.

As time passed more fugitive slaves were to be seen on the public roads in all sections of Indiana. Slave catchers, kidnappers with fugitive slaves, and perhaps other Negroes who had never been slaves were sometimes seen on the roads bound in chains; and still other slave catchers and kidnappers in hot pursuit of their fleeing quarry, a human being whose only crime was that he had been born a slave and that he had dared to make a dash for freedom.

A vast majority of the people in the vicinity had not beheld such revolting scenes as the one just described,

but they had read accounts of them in their newspapers. In fact the iniquities of the whole business led the editors to plead the cause of these victims of slavery in the name of humanity. This naturally awakened the native sympathy of the people for these victims of cruelty and aroused their opposition to slavery.

The adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise, and the Dred Scott Decision three years later seemed to remove every legal barrier to the spread of lawful slavery. The Abolition Movement took on new life, and the Free-soil and the Liberty Parties denounced slavery with much greater vigor.

As long as the supporters of the Abolition Movement were only ministers, editors, business men, and private citizens, the South could well afford to believe that this movement did not have the sanction of the northern people; but when members of Congress from the North joined, the South through its representatives in Congress united to oppose the spread of the feeling which seriously threatened the very existence of slavery.

Ohio sent abolitionist Joshua Gidding to Congress in 1838, and from that time on the number of abolitionists in Congress steadily increased. Indiana's choice in 1860 was George W. Julian, an avowed abolitionist.

At Indianapolis on July 13, 1854, ten thousand Whigs, Democrats, Free-soilers, and Know-nothingsers from various states organized the Republican Party whose platform declared an uncompromising opposition to the further spread of slavery.

THE WAR BEGINS

The new party met with defeat at the polls in 1856, but four years later it nominated Abraham Lincoln for president.

During his campaign for the presidency, the Southern Democrats made many threats to secede from the Union in case Lincoln should be elected. As the people of Indiana had heard that threat a number of times before, they paid little attention to it, regarding it as another bluff. Few expected the South to carry out the prediction. But when the states of South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas seceded

from the Union, every one became serious. The question that was upmost was, "Shall the South be forced to remain in the Union?" A vast majority favored some form of compromise short of war. While many Republican leaders favored letting the seceded states go, such men as Henry S. Lane and Oliver P. Morton, Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the state of Indiana, respectively, favored compelling the South to remain in the Union. Lane was elected to the United States Senate and Morton became Governor.

Lincoln spoke at Indianapolis on February 21, 1861, but at that time he only said that he intended to enforce the law.

In his inaugural address the March following, he expressed his attitude toward slavery thus, "I have no purpose to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so."

While the people of the North were discussing some means of restoring peace, short of war, the seceding states fired on Fort Sumpter in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861. The people of Indiana were dazed at this. The long, hard struggle was on in earnest.

Following this, the ministers of Indiana in their Sunday sermons told their congregations that in this situation they had but one duty to perform, that of supporting the Union. Banks and private citizens tendered loans to the state until the General Assembly could provide the money for making preparations for the struggle. The railroads gave transportation to soldiers on the way to the front or to training camps.

Union meetings at which speakers explained the issues at stake were held in every county. Resolutions endorsing the Union, condemning secession, and pledging assistance and care to the dependents of all who enlisted were generally adopted. Just one week after the firing on Fort Sumpter, Indiana was confident that an overwhelming majority of her people would actively support the Union cause, and were ready to settle down to the long hard struggle that was sure to come.

The young men readily enlisted in the army and men too old to go resented the insult to the flag. Perhaps few if any realized the seriousness of the conflict they were entering.

Just as soon as possible, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 troops to serve three months to execute the laws of the United States in the seven states that had seceded from the Union.

Governor Morton of Indiana telegraphed Lincoln on that day (April 15, 1861) offering 10,000 men for the army. During the next month Governor Morton issued a proclamation calling for six regiments, Indiana's quota. He was determined to support wholeheartedly the cause of the Union.

The state fairground in the northern part of the city of Indianapolis was secured for a camp and was named Camp Morton. The number of men who volunteered were more than enough to form the six regiments called for. Those not needed were organized and held in readiness for later calls certain to come. As the conflict and the fighting became more severe more regiments were needed. To accommodate these additional camps were established at Vincennes, New Albany, Seymour, Aurora, Richmond, Terre Haute, Lafayette, Michigan City, Kendallville, and Kokomo.

The following facts are of interest at this point. On April 30, 1861, eighteen days after the South fired on Fort Sumpter, the Senate or Upper House of the General Assembly of Indiana adopted the following resolution on the recommendation of the Committee on Federal Relations in relation to neutrality in time of war and constitutional obligations of the state and the United States:

Nor is it the intention of the state of Indiana that any portion of her resource of men or money shall ever be employed either directly or indirectly in any aggression upon the institution of slavery or any other constitutional right belonging to any state.

Two years afterwards such sentiment was treated as being disloyal.

In his message of December 1, 1861, the President urged upon Congress and the South especially the adoption of his plan for the compensated emancipation of the slaves without success. Again the following March, he urged unsuccessfully on the border slave states the acceptance of this plan. Again and again until the end of the Civil War he urged the acceptance of this plan fruitlessly.

About four months later, Congress passed a Confiscatory Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and to accomplish other less dramatic purposes.

While Lincoln had on previous public pronouncements declared that he believed that he had no lawful right to interfere with slavery in the states where it then existed, other public men held the opposite view. Notable among them was Horace Greeley, a prominent New York City newspaper editor, who wrote President Lincoln a letter on August 11, 1862, requesting him to express himself definitely as to the emancipation of the slaves. In his reply Lincoln asserted:

My paramount purpose in this struggle is to save the Union and is not to either save or destroy slavery. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union and what I forebear doing, I do not believe will help save the Union.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of my official duty and I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

On September 22, 1862, a little more than a month after he had taken the above position as to the emancipation of the slaves, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, to take effect the following January 1, 1863, freeing the slaves in those states and in parts of states then in rebellion against the Federal Government unless they laid down their arms. In issuing the proclamation he declared that it was a war measure. The freeing of the slaves would weaken the confederacy which employed Negroes to raise their food, to construct breastworks, to dig trenches, to drive military supply trains, and to perform other tasks in and around the camp so as to free more white men for strictly military duties.

The Federal Government in May, 1863, announced its decision to recruit Negro troops. The West, of which Indiana is a part, was not at all in favor of this step. A number of the officers of Indiana regiments had already resigned because of their hostility to the President's proclamation giving freedom to the enslaved, even though it was only a war measure, and further because of the

awakening of their dormant prejudice against the Negro, which had been inflamed by virulent arguments of politicians in sympathy with those who would destroy the Union to preserve slavery.

The only friends that the northern soldiers found in the South were the Negro slaves. These soldiers wrote back home telling their families this.

As the energies of the state were being directed to the prosecution of the war for the Union, no effort was made to enforce the Negro Exclusion Law and many destitute, helpless, and inoffensive Negro refugees came into the state. This was, however, in the nature of a godsend for there was a dearth of laborers to do the needed work.

At this point the following free paper is of interest:

Office of Camp Reception near Henderson, Kentucky, May 12, 1865.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Aaron Chambers is a soldier in the 118th Regiment of United States Colored Infantry. According to the provisions of an Act of Congress approved on the 3rd day of March, 1865 freeing the wives and children of colored soldiers it is declared that Rose Chambers is the wife of Aaron Chambers and his children are free and will be treated accordingly;

James S. Adams
Lieut. 100 U.S.C.Z.
Comdy Camp Reception

Approved.

Nevertheless, the rank and file of Indiana troops stood firm and were loyal to the Union. They were also willing to accept the help of even the Negro in the bitter fighting that was taking place. Opposition to the employment of Negro troops soon waned and only a few people continued to oppose it. In fact, Morton himself approved the enlistment of Negroes in the army in his message to the General Assembly that year.

As the fighting became more prolonged, and the list of the killed and wounded became greater, the recruiting of volunteers became much more difficult. To encourage men to volunteer for the army, bounties of from \$100 to \$300 were offered, but as this did not at all attract enough

volunteers to fill the quotas of the state, drafting had to be resorted to.

As a further means of solving this problem in December, 1863, Indiana opened the enlistment in the army to Negroes for the first time in her history, with the announcement that follows:

To the Colored Men of Indiana:

The state of Indiana calls upon you to bear a part in the glorious work of putting down the slaveholders' rebellion and saving the Union. Will you not march to the rescue of your suffering brethren and give to them the freedom which is now declared to be their rights? It has been said of you that you do not possess the manly qualities that fit a people to enjoy and preserve their liberty. You can now show your detractors and the world the falsehood of the assertion and place yourself in such a position that you may ask and obtain from a grateful people a full recognition of your worth and rights as men.

Orders for recruiting a regiment of Negro Troops were issued by Governor Morton, December 3, 1863, and a camp of rendezvous was established at Indianapolis, with William P. Fishbeck as commandant. Six companies aggregating 518 men were raised from the first call and 1,016 from subsequent calls, making a total of 1,534 men furnished from calls made by the state. In addition to this figure a number of Negro men were enlisted by recruiting officers from other states.

These companies left Indianapolis, April 24, 1864, and arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, where a sufficient number of Negro soldiers from the state of Maryland were added to make a complete regiment and where the men received their basic training. The regiment was designated as the Twenty-eighth Colored Regiment. It took part in many skirmishes in Sheridan's campaigns and in the bloody Battle of the Crater where nearly half of the men were killed. Lieutenant Russell, one of the officers of the regiment, was promoted for outstanding gallantry.

Under the calls of July and December the same year, a number of Negro substitutes for drafted white men were furnished and sent to colored regiments in the field. One of these was the Twenty-eighth Regiment, later sent to Texas.

This regiment was mustered out of service in November, 1865 and returned to Indianapolis early the next January where it was honored at the tabernacle with a reception for its gallantry.

Governor Baker, the successor of Governor Morton, welcomed the men and Lieutenant Colonel Logan made the principal response.

Lincoln's call to arms for the preservation of the Union, and the freeing of his own blood brothers from bondage, awakened in the Negro an intense feeling of loyalty and zeal to fight for the cause of the Union although he had not been permitted to do so until the intensity of the fighting tried men's very souls. Every settlement and urban community had furnished its full quota. Indianapolis and Marion County sent 339 enlisted men to the Union army; Evansville and Vanderburg County, 151; Richmond and Wayne County, 41; Jeffersonville and Clark County, 45; Terre Haute and Vigo County, 36; Madison and Jefferson County, 27; New Albany and Floyd County, 20. Other towns and rural sections did as well as these. In addition to the above figure, a large number of Negro men from the state enlisted outside her borders. According to Governor Morton, recruiting officers from other states enrolled a large number of Negro men from Indiana. These agents were so active in the state, recruiting Negro soldiers, that he had to threaten to prosecute them in order to force them to desist.

THE ADOPTION OF THE WAR AMENDMENTS

At the close of the Civil War in April 1865, there were at least 10,000 Negroes in the state.

By an old law, they were required to register with the county clerk. They could not vote or hold office, belong to the militia, be a witness in a case at court to which a white person was a party, nor send their children to the public schools. The Constitution at that time forbade any more Negroes coming into the state.

The General Assembly of 1865 took up the Negro problem. Even before that body had convened, Governor Morton opened the question in a public address at Richmond, September 29, 1865, in which he said in part, concerning giving the Negro the right to vote, "I would

give them a little time to acquire a little property and to get a little education." George W. Julian raised a dissenting voice to this. Because the Negro had helped to save the Union, Julian favored giving him full citizenship immediately, including the ballot, so that he could protect himself against discriminatory laws. Thus the Republican Party was divided into two factions, the Morton faction that favored going slowly in giving the Negro the right to vote and the Julian Quaker faction that favored giving the Negro immediately all the rights of citizenship including the ballot.

A joint resolution to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was introduced early in the 1865 session of the General Assembly. It was favored by the Republicans but was opposed by the Democrats. After a prolonged debate it was approved. The vote in the Senate was 26 for the resolution and 24 against it, while in the House the vote was 56 for the resolution and 24 against it.

The Democrats opposed the resolution on the ground that the social status of the Negro should be left entirely to the states. They seemed to fear racial equality and the inter-marriage of the two races.

Early in the January, 1867, session of the General Assembly the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was submitted for ratification. Governor Morton recommended its speedy consideration and ratification. This was accomplished without much trouble. The only opposition that it encountered came from the Democrats who declared that the amendment was too far-reaching and that it violated the principles of state rights.

In the election of 1868, the Republicans favored the granting of the ballot to the Negro and the Democrats opposed it. The Republicans won the election by approximately 10,000 votes. Morton, who had been elected to the United States Senate, introduced a resolution in that body requiring that those states whose representatives had not yet been admitted to Congress should be required to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment before their representative would be seated in either the Lower or the Upper Houses of Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was submitted to the General Assembly for ratification March 1, 1869. After a long caucus of the seventeen

Democratic senators and thirty-seven Democratic representatives on the night of March 3, these members resigned, thus destroying a quorum which consisted of two-thirds of the members of each house. The Democratic members were all from strong Democratic districts and at the special election held March 23, all were re-elected.

The Governor called a special session of the General Assembly on April 8, for the ostensible purpose of making the necessary appropriations. The Democrats stayed away from the State House until they had, or thought that they had, secured a pledge from the Republicans that the Fifteenth Amendment resolution would not be brought up, at least until all necessary legislation had been acted upon. By agreement the Fifteenth Amendment resolution was postponed until May 14, 1869. On the preceding day ten Democratic senators and forty-one Democratic representatives handed in their resignations. But before the resigning members of the Senate could leave the chamber, the doors were bolted, a quorum was counted, and the resolution was passed. The speaker of the House ruled that a bare majority of that body could pass the resolution. A vote was taken and the amendment was ratified.

The Negroes of the state held a convention at Indianapolis in December, 1865, at which they stated that their population was 6,051, scattered through fifteen different counties, and that they owned \$912,314 worth of property on which they paid an annual tax of \$28,051. They issued an appeal to the citizens of Indiana to grant them the right to vote and all other rights of citizens.

Although this appeal was published generally in the newspapers of the state, however their request was not granted until 1881, nearly a half century thereafter.

Near the end of the Civil War, there arose a strong movement for the repeal of Article XIII of the Constitution of 1851, the Negro Disability Clause. The Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church held at Plainfield in 1864 petitioned the legislature to that effect.

F. M. Meridith, a Republican legislator of the Lower House of the General Assembly of 1865 proposed an amendment to the state constitution to repeal the article. The Republican majority of the House passed the resolution but the Senate defeated it.

The Democratic platform that year condemned the

Republicans for having passed the repeal resolution, but the Union-Republican Platform stated that the power to determine the qualification of electors rested with the states.

The most powerful factor in influencing the repeal of these restrictions of the Negro in the state was the decision of the Indiana Supreme Court in 1869, which held that under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution the Negro was entitled to make and to enforce contracts and that the provisions of Indiana Constitution to the contrary were unconstitutional.

Because of this decision, Governor Morton recommended to the state legislature the next year that it formally repeal the unconstitutional provisions. No effort was made immediately to change the constitution, but the laws to enforce the provisions were repealed. It was not until a quarter century later that Article XIII was formally repealed.

Almost full equality of Negroes and whites was attained in Indiana by the adoption of the aforementioned amendments. The only privilege that the white man has that the black man does not have is that of belonging to the militia.

Another law that is of interest at this point concerns the marital relationship between the two races. In 1840 an act outlawing the marriage of the black and white races was adopted. Again in 1905 a similar law was passed providing that if either party had as much as one-eighth Negro blood, both parties to the marriage were subject to a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and anyone counseling such a marriage was subject to a fine of not less than \$100.

PART THREE

CHAPTER V

MAKING A LIVING DURING THE RECENT AND PRESENT PERIOD

Because of the very serious labor shortage during World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued the FEPC Proclamation opening all classes of jobs in plants having government contracts to all workers regardless of race.

Previous to the last World War, a number of commercial and industrial plants would hire Negroes only as janitors, maids, stock keepers, elevator operators, porters, common laborers, and in other similar capacities, the least desirable kind of work with the lowest pay and with no opportunity for up-grading. In a number of instances, Negro members of labor unions in skilled trades and occupations in other sections of the country, coming to Indiana with their union cards, have not been permitted to work at their occupation or trade here despite the recent racial equality pronouncements of their national bodies, especially in the cases of carpenters and bricklayers even during World War II where war plants were under construction.

According to the United States Census of 1940, 30,049 Negroes were employed in Indiana in the following fields: 1,296 were engaged in professional work; 596 were proprietors and managers of businesses; 788 were clerks; 265 were farm owners and tenants; 105 were skilled workers; 23,387 were unskilled workers or common laborers; and 14,370, or more than fifty per cent, of the common laborers were classified as servants.

COMMON LABOR AND PERSONAL SERVICES

In proportion to their population, seven times as many Negroes as whites were employed as servants. Seven and one-half times as many white workers as Negro

workers (or about one in fourteen among white workers) were engaged in professional work; while only two and six-tenths of the Negro workers were so classed (or one in every forty). In other words, three times as many whites in proportion to their number were employed in professional work as were the Negroes, but about four and one-half times as many Negroes in proportion to their number were employed as common laborers as were the whites. Forty times as many white females as Negro females in proportion to their number were employed as clerks; and more than three times as many white females were employed in professional work as were Negro females.

About thirty out of every one hundred Negroes gainfully employed were servants, while only about twelve white out of one hundred were so employed.

When manufacturing became important after the close of the Civil War, many Negroes found employment in factories at common labor such as janitors, maids, and porters. The few Negroes doing skilled work were classified as common laborers and were paid common labor wages.

Many white workers employed in skilled trades and occupations became dissatisfied with the wages they were paid and with the working conditions. To improve both, they organized labor unions. Negro workers were not taken into these organizations which often signed "closed shop" agreements with their employers. Such agreements stipulated that only members of the union would be employed to work in the factory or shop at skilled trades and occupations. Since Negroes were not permitted to join the union, they were effectively shut out of the skilled occupations and trades.

The only way a Negro worker could get employment in these "closed shop" establishments was as a "strike breaker" in times of strikes or labor disputes.

In most cases the Negro "strike breaker" lost his job when the strike was settled and the striking employees returned to their jobs.

Several years ago owners of industries in Indiana and in other northern states often sent labor agents to the South, especially, to employ Negroes to take the jobs of striking employees in industry without informing them

that they were assuming the role of "strike breakers", a dangerous occupation.

The owners of the mines at Knightsville, near Brazil, organized and reduced the price of mining coal to one dollar a ton. The miners went on strike and the mines shut down. The owners imported Negroes from the South to operate the mines. Trouble between the striking miners and the Negroes soon broke out and soon spread to nearby Brazil. Since the local peace officers were unable to keep order, the state militia was sent to restore peace.

Five years later, the Coal Creek mine operators in Fountain County likewise brought in under-paid Negro workers to take the place of striking white miners. Trouble between the two groups broke out and again a company of militia was recruited largely from the ranks of the striking miners. In the trouble that followed three of the Negroes were killed. As has usually been the case in such situations, the "strike breakers" lost their jobs when the strike was finally settled.

Almost all the skilled and semi-skilled Negro workers are employed in the steel industry of the Calumet district. Prior to the two world wars, Negro workers were not welcome as members of the union. However, the Negro secured a foothold as a "strike breaker" in the steel industry. Recently out of sheer necessity, Negroes have been taken into the unions in larger numbers than formerly because many union men were called to the army and the hordes of foreigners were shut off. Thousands of Negro workers are now loyal members of labor unions.

One may safely surmise that although farming was the chief occupation of the Negroes of Indiana prior to the Civil War, that being the predominant industry, that a much smaller per cent of them now make a living by tilling the soil than formerly.

According to the United States Census report of 1940, there were 184,169 farms in Indiana. At that time the Negro population of the state was three and fifty-five hundredth per cent of the total. If the Negroes had owned that per cent of the farms of the state, they would have owned 6,508 farms in 1940 instead of the 265 that they did own, or twenty-five times as many.

Nearly all the Negro farmers lived in Gibson, Grant,

Hamilton, Vigo, and Rush Counties in 1940, counties in which the early settlements of free Negroes were made before the Civil War.

FEDERAL, CITY, AND STATE EMPLOYMENT

Many Negroes in the larger cities of the state are employed by the Federal Government in the post offices of these cities, by municipal governments as members of the fire and police departments, and by the state government in various departments. As one would expect, more Negroes are employed in these fields by the city of Indianapolis than in any other municipality since that city is the metropolis of the state. Fifty-two Negroes are members of the police department of Indianapolis. One of them has risen to the rank of Lieutenant in his department.

PROFESSIONS

According to the classifications used in the United States census of 1940, the professions include actors, architects, draftsmen, artists, clergymen, dentists, electrical engineers, journalists, lawyers, literary and scientific persons, musicians, officials (government), physicians and surgeons, pharmacists, graduate nurses, and teachers. A majority of the Negroes in the professions are found in medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, teaching, law, and the ministry.

The census reports fifty-seven Negro physicians in the state in 1940. These for the most part were found in the more highly populated cities where the largest numbers of Negroes are to be found. Practically all the Negro physicians are highly trained and capable. They usually enjoy a bi-racial practice. The majority of them are graduates of Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee, and of Howard University School of Medicine, Washington, D. C. Both of these schools are high class medical colleges. A few physicians are graduates of medical colleges for training whites. In addition to their regular professional schooling, a number of Negroes have pursued advanced graduate courses in some of the very best medical centers, hospitals, and clinics in the United States and Europe. Among the physicians on the staffs of high class bi-racial hospitals is Dr. D. A. Bethea, staff

member of the Hammond, Indiana, hospital. Until the opening of the white medical schools to Negro students and the establishing of the Howard University Medical School and the Meharry Medical College, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, there were no scientifically trained Negro physicians in the state. In fact there were no laws to protect the people against incompetent medical practitioners until nearly sixty years ago when a law requiring them to be graduates of reputable medical schools was enacted.

Among the early licensed physicians were Dr. Huggins and Dr. Littlejohn Mifchem of New Albany. Other well-known physicians of earlier days and the present were Sumner A. Furnace, Joseph H. Ward, and H. L. Hummons of Indianapolis; A. L. Cabell, I. H. Sloss, D. A. Hoover, and M. L. Wilkerson, Terre Haute; D. A. Bethea, Hammond; and S. Tanner Brooks, Richmond.

A few Negro pharmacists are found in the larger cities of the state. Among them are Henry Howard of Indianapolis and Winton D. Jones of Terre Haute.

According to the census, Indiana had thirty-two Negro dentists in 1940. As in the instance of the physicians, they were found principally in the larger urban centers. Many of them, if not all, have a bi-racial patronage, have been well trained, and are graduates of some of the best dental colleges of the country. They have as a rule neat, sanitary, offices and laboratories. The dentists had to overcome the lack of confidence of members of their own race in their professional skill. However when the Negro saw members of the dominant race patronizing these dentists, he too turned to them for professional service.

Among the successful and well-known dentists are Guy Grant, Indianapolis; L. H. Anderson, Terre Haute; and L. D. Ferguson, Richmond.

There were 560 Negro teachers employed in Indiana schools in 1945 according to the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Nearly all of them were teaching in elementary schools attended exclusively by Negro children. The only Negroes teaching mixed groups of pupils were the two Negro teachers of Elkhart. Many more white teachers were teaching mixed groups of children.

From the very first, the Negro teacher has given much of his time outside of school hours to unselfish service

for the betterment of his racial group with no hope of financial reward. When Flanner House, Indianapolis, was in dire need of assistance not many years ago, many of the Negro teachers of that city came to its assistance with much devoted service and generous donations out of their meager salaries. Other teachers of the same race have been leaders in the church, civic affairs, club work, and fraternal organizations.

Among those who have rendered notable service the following should be mentioned: Mrs. Margaret Teister, the founder of the Order of the Eastern Star, Prince Hall Affiliation; Mrs. Anna M. Ashworth, a notable worker in that order; John Sims, Joseph Jackson, R. F. Taylor, and James William, in the Masonic Lodge; and William Baugh and Mrs. Delight Hinton in the community welfare field. Space will not permit our mentioning the names of more of the many Negro men and women whose examples in and out of the class room have inspired those whom they have taught to become good and useful citizens.

There were twenty-eight Negro lawyers in Indiana according to the 1940 census. The profession of law was another only recently opened to the Negro. In fact he was not a citizen until after the adoption of the so-called "war amendments." There were so few Negroes in Indiana at that time (24,560 in 1870), that the well-trained Negro lawyer with ambition to win high elective state and national offices did not as a rule remain here; for there were simply not enough Negro voters to elect one of their number to such offices as were available in several states of the South. In fact, such ambitious and well-trained lawyers as Hiram Revels left Indiana for the South where he was elected a United States Senator for the State of Mississippi during the Reconstruction Era. Too, the Negro, himself was so accustomed to entrusting his meager legal business to men of the dominant race, and of seeing attorneys of that race practicing the law, that he hesitated to employ a Negro lawyer. In fact he questioned the efficiency of a lawyer of his own race.

Many Negroes who qualified themselves as lawyers later found to their sorrow that they could not earn a living by the practice of their profession and had to turn to other fields of employment to earn their sustenance.

As time passed the Negro attorneys demonstrated their ability, members of their race have more and more turned

to them for legal service. Since Negroes have amassed more wealth, they have more legal business requiring the service of an attorney. For these reasons, more Negroes are encouraged to study for admission to the bar.

There were fifty-six Negro lawyers in Indiana in 1940, the majority of them were practicing their profession in the larger cities. Indianapolis alone had twenty-eight. No other Indiana city has nearly as many.

James V. Hill, Robert L. Baily, F. B. Ransom, Robert Lee Brokenbur, and Wilbur Grant, of Indianapolis; Cornelius Richardson, of Richmond; and Charles Wills, of South Bend, are among those who have made a name for themselves in the profession of law.

The ministry has had a great appeal to humanity in all ages. According to the best estimates available, Indiana has about three hundred ministers of the gospel. A number of them in addition to their activities as pastors of churches also devote some of their time to community work.

Some of them are well-trained for their work and hold academic and theological degrees from leading colleges. Others are less well prepared. For reasons which the writer will not attempt to state, many ministers at present are not as highly respected by the people as ministers once were. Many, however, are unselfishly rendering spiritual and moral leadership in the neighborhoods where they live.

Among those who have won high respect are Moses Broyles, R. D. Leonard, and F. F. Young, all of Indianapolis; Hardin Anderson of Evansville; Bishop William Paul Quinn, and W. D. Shannon of Richmond; and H. H. Black of Indianapolis.

Indiana has produced a number of actors, artists, authors, and musicians who have made a contribution in their fields. Because employment in the arts is not readily available to the Negro unless he has unusual ability, these names are noteworthy: Noble Sissle had much ability both as an actor and as a musician; Hall Woodruff won the Harmon award because of his outstanding skill as an artist; Mrs. Lillian Lemon made a name for herself as a pianist; and Mrs. Jane Shackelford is the author of two books well-known throughout the United States. John W. Lyda has published a number of articles in newspapers

and educational magazines and A Self-Rating Scale for Supervisors of Instruction which is found in part in many books in the field of the supervision of instruction.

MANUFACTURING

Considering another line of achievement, we see The H. L. Saunders Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, the first manufacturing enterprise owned and controlled by Negroes in Indiana. The company was organized by H. L. Saunders in 1889, who began operation in one room of his home on a rented sewing machine with his wife as his only assistant.

The office and factory of the company were located and operated at 218-220 Indiana Avenue, Indianapolis, for three decades under the management of the founder. The business grew until it gave employment to several dozen persons, including traveling salesmen. After the death of the founder and after the financial slump of the 1930's, the business was re-organized and moved to 20 West Ohio Street with Mr. Johnson, who is a nephew of the founder and who had been connected with the firm from boyhood, as manager. The company makes working men's clothing which it sells in twenty different states.

The Martin Brother Manufacturing Company was organized in 1909 by Samuel, James, Jesse, and Benjamin Martin to manufacture working men's clothing. Its first office and factory were located at 9 North Illinois Street, Indianapolis. The company moved from this address to 214 Indiana Avenue more than twenty years ago. Benjamin Martin severed his connection with the firm a few years ago and now resides in Chicago, Illinois. A number of persons are given regular employment by this enterprise.

One of the largest, if not the largest manufacturing company, owned and controlled by Negroes in the world, is The Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis. Madame Walker founded the company more than a half century ago to manufacture her preparation for growing the hair, and toilet articles. The company sells its products in every state in the Union and also in many foreign countries. It also maintains colleges for the training of beauticians in a number of large cities of the United States. Robert L. Brokenbur is the general

manager, and Miss A'lelia M. Perry is the president of the company.

In the highly competitive field of contracting, a few Negroes have succeeded against great odds. One of them was David Jenkins of Terre Haute. He was a successful contractor in bridge construction for the Indiana Highway Commission from 1921 to 1941, the time of his death. His son Martin was associated with him in this business for a time.

Another successful contractor is Mr. Green of Marion, who specializes in concrete construction. He owns his own plant and produces a high grade product.

PUBLICATIONS

Soon after emancipation, the Negroes of the nation feeling the need for a mouthpiece established newspapers in various sections of our country.

In Indiana, Levi Christie began the publication of **The World** in Indianapolis in 1884 and continued it until 1904.

The second newspaper, **The Freeman**, was started by Edward Cooper in 1887. After his death, George L. Knox, a friend and co-worker of Frederick Douglas and of Booker T. Washington, assumed control. At one time it enjoyed the largest circulation of any Negro newspaper in the United States. It ceased publication a quarter century ago.

The Indianapolis Ledger, or **Ledger** as it was usually called during its publication, was founded by John Howard in 1911 and continued publication until 1926. Howard served as the editor until his death. William H. Jackson then became the editor and served until the paper suspended publication.

George P. Stewart began the publication of **The Indianapolis Recorder** in 1898. For a time Will H. Porter was associated with him as the co-publisher. Following Mr. Stewart's death in 1924, his son, Marcus O. Stewart, assumed the editorship which he has carried on successfully since. This paper now enjoys a nation-wide circulation.

Two other newspapers enjoy a local circulation, the **Gary American** and the **Evansville Argus**. They are doubtlessly meeting a real need in the cities where they are being published.

It may be safely said of all these papers that they have

at all times championed the cause of the Indiana Negro and of their editors, that they have been trail blazers in the very best sense of that word.

BUSINESSES

One of the businesses mentioned in the sketches of early urban Negro communities is that of conducting barber shops for members of the other race. However as time passed more and more whites have entered this business. In order to win the patronage of members of their race from the Negro, they often appealed to race prejudice until at present they have just about eliminated the Negro barber from shops that serve whites exclusively.

A number of Negro barbers who once served customers of the other racial group only, now serve customers of any race with little if any loss in income. One successful shop of this kind is that operated by Lewis Fox and his helpers in Richmond. The Star Barber Shop operated by George W. Russell in Terre Haute is another successful business that serves patrons regardless of race.

A number of Negroes conduct personal service businesses such as proprietors, managers, operators, and clerks in retail grocery, drug, clothing, second-hand clothing, and other kinds of stores; and shoe repair shops, tailor and clothing repair shops, garages, dress making, rooming houses, hotels, barber and beauty shops, undertaking establishments, and others. Many of the kinds of businesses just listed are largely dependent upon members of the race for their patronage and nearly all of them are found in the so-called Negro districts of the larger cities of the state.

In many cases where groceries are operated in Negro communities, the proprietors employ nearly all Negro clerks, other helpers, and even cash girls. One instance of this kind is the Mack's Super-Market located at Agnes and Michigan Streets, Indianapolis.

In spite of the competition of the "chain stores" a number of Negroes are conducting food markets successfully. Several thriving businesses in this field are found in Indianapolis and in the other large cities of the state.

In Terre Haute, the E. Parks Grocery and the Edwards

Grocery located at Washington and 131½ Streets are to be found.

When Negroes opened their first retail establishments, many of their proprietors appealed to members of their race to patronize them because of race. However as time passed and the Negro mastered more of the rudiments of conducting business, he had appealed to the members of his race and to the general public to give him their patronage because he can give them better service and more for their money or at least as much when all factors are taken into account as can any of his competitors regardless of race.

More rooming houses for Negroes are found in Indianapolis than in any other city as is to be surmised since that city has the largest Negro population of any city in the state and more restaurants are also to be found there. One of the best known in that city is The Coffee Pot in the Walker Building located at Indiana Avenue and West Streets.

More drug stores are also found in that city than in any other for the reasons aforementioned. A number of them are well equipped and maintain prescription departments in charge of licensed pharmacists. They also enjoy a bi-racial patronage in the communities where they are located. Among those that may be mentioned are the Walker Drug Store at 601 Indiana Avenue, Clark's Pharmacy, and the Overton Drug Store, all of Indianapolis and the Jones Drug Store near South 13th Street and College Avenue in Terre Haute.

While the Negro has suffered a great loss in the number of barber shops that he operates that depend upon the other racial group for patronage as previously pointed out, he has just about driven undertakers of the other racial group out of the undertaking business as far as Negroes are concerned in many of the larger cities of the state. Practically all the larger cities have one or more efficient undertaking establishments.

In Indianapolis we find many prosperous firms in this field; among them are the Jacob Brothers, Pattons, the Peoples, and King and King; in Richmond there is the C. Stircle Patterson Company; in South Bend we find the Woolridge Company; and in Terre Haute, there are the Green and the Bell and Brackens Undertaking Companies.

Indianapolis is the home of the Gilbraltar Life and

Accident Insurance Company. It is the successor of the Industrial Life Insurance Company that was organized more than a quarter century ago. It has operated successfully since its organization and had nearly \$1,000,000 in policies nearly a decade ago. It has agents in many parts of the state.

Many Negroes in the principal cities of the state are employed by the Mammoth Insurance Company, as managers and as agents. This company is owned and managed by Negroes. Its home office is in Louisville, Kentucky.

In a few instances, Negroes conduct successful businesses with nearly all white customers in competition with whites in the same businesses.

One such firm is the garage conducted by William T. Walker in Gary, Indiana, which has been in operation for twenty years.

The Stuart Moving and Storage Company, Inc., Indianapolis, was founded by Marion H. Stuart its present president and general manager, in 1935. The firm owned only one piece of equipment when it began operations. At present its assets consist of twenty-one pieces of rolling stock and two modern storage plants of 60,000 square feet of floor space located at 701 North Senate Avenue and 114-6 West Maryland Street. The company employs on an average of thirty-five persons and has an annual payroll of more than \$100,000. Through its business connections with other companies, it maintains an efficient coast to coast moving service.

The Stuart Moving and Storage Company has won many moving contracts in competition with some of the largest moving companies of the state.

Mr. Stuart gives his personal attention and supervision to each job and seeks to carry out every contract to the satisfaction of every customer. Fully nine-tenths of this firm's business is transacted with the dominant racial group on a purely merit and business basis. This firm is the largest in its field of any in the state owned and operated by Negroes.

THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING

The problem of housing has always been a serious one in the life of the Negro in Indiana. He belongs to the

lowest income group of the state, and consequently most of them live in the poorer districts, the so-called slum area of the communities where the streets are often unpaved, the drainage inadequate, and the streets poorly lighted.

In many cases the "Negro district" is the leavings of the whites who once occupied the dwellings but who have moved to areas where the houses are modern with improved streets with adequate lighting and excellent sewage systems. In many cities the Negro lives in the factory districts with their over-crowded, dilapidated dwellings and generally undesirable and unhealthy surroundings. It is no wonder then that disease and crime flourish in such surroundings.

In many instances in some municipalities, the only houses that real estate agents will rent or sell to Negroes are those that are located in the so-called "Negro districts."

However as the income of the Negro has increased, he has wisely provided himself and his family with modern and more attractive dwellings. He has in many instances interested the cities where he lives in providing more sanitary drainage and better lights and has remodeled and modernized the dwellings that he owns and occupies.

Many times Negroes of considerable wealth have erected or purchased homes in practically new subdivisions where the streets are already improved and adequately lighted. There are no reliable statistics as to this change but from what one may see that is taking place in many cities and communities, it is evident that the Negro has made great strides in improving his communities and the homes where he resides.

Recently the Federal Government has erected housing projects in Indianapolis, Gary, Fort Wayne, Muncie, New Albany, and Evansville to replace the slum districts where Negroes once lived.

CHAPTER VI

ORGANIZATIONS THAT ATTEMPT TO MEET PRESENT NEEDS

CIVIC CLUBS AND SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

There are so many worthwhile organizations among Negroes in Indiana that to attempt to include even a brief account of a large number of them would require more research and much more space than can be given to them here. The writer has therefore included only a few typical ones.

The Federation of Associated Clubs, Indianapolis, one of the largest organizations of its kind in the Middle West, is working effectively for the civic, educational, economic, and political advancement of the Negroes of that city.

Organized in November, 1937, by Starling W. James, a teacher of the Indianapolis Public Schools, it was incorporated under the laws of Indiana in June two years later.

The first board of trustees was composed of Starling W. James, James Brown, and Mrs. Dorsey Phelps.

This organization includes 125 clubs with a combined membership of 3,000 persons. It has contributed several hundred dollars in scholarships to graduates of Crispus Attucks High School and a similar sum to aid students of the John Herron Art Institute and of Butler University. It has also endorsed a Negro for membership on the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners, the representation of Negro citizens in the city government in proportion to their ratio to the total population, the opening of employment to the Negro in new fields, and the active co-operation with the citizen's committee for better interracial relations in Indianapolis.

Outstanding speakers have been brought to a number of the different groups affiliated with the Federation at various mass meetings, conferences, clinics, and forums.

The organization owns and operates a debt-free club house at 2309 North Capitol Avenue, in which any club affiliated with the Federation may hold its meetings.

The movement to build a community center, now known

as Carver Community Center in Kokomo, was initiated by Reverend H. A. Perry, the efficient principal of Kokomo's Douglas School.

On March 14, 1940, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt had appeared at Douglas School, thus putting it in the community "lime light" as the Kokomo **Tribune** carried a front page account of the happening. As a result of this visit, Reverend Perry and his loyal supporters initiated a movement to build a community center to meet the recreational and social needs of the Negro youth of the city. The achievement required many sacrifices and much hard work by Reverend Perry and the workers, but their dream finally became a reality; Carver Community Center was built.

This institution now owns a free-of-debt building costing \$75,000 and a playground of twenty-one lots. The building has hot and cold showers for both boys and girls, a gymnasium with a stage, a craft room, a domestic arts room, a storage room, and an office.

The staff for carrying on its activities consists of a director, two assistants, and a janitor.

The Kokomo Community Chest appropriates \$7,000 annually to finance the work.

Similar community centers are located in Anderson, Evansville, Indianapolis, Richmond, Fort Wayne, and Terre Haute.

To meet the very urgent needs of the Negroes of Indianapolis for a community house, Mr. Frank Flanner, a white mortician of that city, in 1898 founded the institution now known as Flanner House. He gave his wholehearted co-operation and financial help to this project until his death a decade later.

During the years immediately following Mr. Flanner's death while the institution was in dire need of financial assistance, the Young Men's Prayer Band, The King's Daughters—an organization of community minded women—and Mr. Williams, principal of the neighborhood school, all of Indianapolis, gave devoted and distinguished service to Flanner House in its hour of need.

The Women's Board of Christian Missions of Indianapolis was also of great financial help for many years.

Those who have served as directors of Flanner House are: Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Brokenburr, Charles O. Lee,

Reverend Henry L. Herrod, and Mr. Cleo Blackburn, the current holder of this position.

The program of activities of Flanner House is based on the conviction that a higher degree of economic and social security of the community must be achieved through self-help.

This is being carried on through three related divisions: social service, vocational aid, and self-help services. Among the specific activities are the following: a day nursery; training classes in home economics, gardening, wood work, repairing furniture, clothing, and shoes; health clinic; home nursing; games; recreation; the profitable use of leisure time; how to get along harmoniously with others; and additional valuable and closely related activities.

The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations are two of the most widely and best known social service organizations in the world. Branches of these associations are found in Muncie and in Indianapolis. The specific kind of service that these organizations render is so well and favorably known that any detailed description of it here would be superfluous. A sketch of the work of the Senate Avenue Y. M. C. A. of Indianapolis follows:

The preliminary organization of the Senate Avenue Y. M. C. A., Indianapolis, was the Prayer Band organized between October 29 and December 2, 1900, to encourage a systematic study of the Bible, to win young men to Christ, and to further the development of Christian Character. The first officers were S. Givens, president; H. M. Terry, vice president; R. J. Parsons, secretary; and B. J. Morgan, treasurer. The Prayer Band became the present Y. M. C. A., May 21, 1902.

The first paid secretary was John Evans, a former teacher of St. Louis, who assumed charge in March, 1902. Sanford Yopp, Rochester, New York, succeeded him, and Thomas E. Taylor, the third secretary took charge on September 15, 1905. Under the latter's leadership the institution grew rapidly and became a branch of the city association five years later. Among the notable contributors to the development of the Prayer Band and to the Y. M. C. A. were D. D. Minor, William H. Chambers, Henry L. Herrod, E. L. Gilliam, J. W. Carr, T. Mitchell

Pierce, George L. Knox, H. L. Saunders, Sumner A. Furnas, Joseph H. Ward, and H. L. Hummonds.

The Y. M. C. A. accepted in 1911 the offer of Julius Rosenwald to donate \$25,000 to erect a new building, if the city of Indianapolis would raise \$75,000. The colored citizens subscribed \$21,000 and the white, \$54,000. The Association moved from its first quarters on California Street to the present building in 1913. This was dedicated on July 7, the same year, by Booker T. Washington.

F. D. De Frantz, the physical director at that time, was elected executive secretary in 1915 to succeed Thomas E. Taylor who went to the Harlem, New York, Y. M. C. A. as its head.

The Senate Avenue Y. M. C. A. honored Dr. De Frantz in 1944 on the thirtieth anniversary of his efficient and devoted service. Under his leadership, it had grown until it had then the largest membership of any Negro Y. M. C. A. in the United States.

In addition to the customary services these associations render young men, this one has rendered invaluable special ones. Through its monster meetings, many young men have been inspired by the addresses of Booker T. Washington, Mordacia Johnson, Channing Tobias, and others.

Many youths of real ability and promise, but with insufficient means, have been assisted directly by Senate Avenue Y. M. C. A. through employment at the institution or through other jobs that it has helped them to find so that they might earn money to pay their expenses while attending college in Indianapolis. Among those whom it has thus assisted are Hall Woodrutt, previously mentioned as the winner of the Harmon Award in art; Forest Wiggins, who became a professor in a great mid-western state university; and Andrew W. Ramsey, who is a well-known newspaper columnist and a teacher of the Indianapolis schools.

This institution has been a training school for social workers, numbering among those who received their training under Dr. De Frantz: Henry K. Craft of the Harlem, New York, Y. M. C. A.; S. S. Booker of the Youngstown, Ohio, Y. M. C. A.; William Rhodes of the Y. M. C. A. of Baltimore; Howard Dangerfield of the Brooklyn Y. M. C. A.; Arnold Bannister of the Muncie

Y. M. C. A.; and Thomas Hummons of the Evanston, Illinois, Y. M. C. A.

SELF-HELP NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Formerly groups of Negroes met to carry on academic discussions of the race problem. Fortunately these have been superseded by agencies that attempt to translate theories into action on a national scale. Men such as William E. Du Bois were keenly aware of the truth that mere talk did not suffice when such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan were terrorizing Negroes throughout the United States, and the employment opportunities were being more and more restricted.

"To make the eleven million Negroes physically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult", William E. Du Bois and a few others who were keenly interested in ending this unfortunate condition, organized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909. That this organization (the N. A. A. C. P.) has achieved much in realizing the purposes for which it was organized is common knowledge throughout the country. It has many branches all over the nation. A number of them are in Indiana. They were active in securing the passage of the Indiana Fair Employment Practice Law and of the Hunter-Binder Anti-segregation School Law.

The National Urban League was organized in 1911 to open new opportunities in industry to Negroes and to help Negro workers who had just come to northern industrial centers from the South to get better adjusted to their new surroundings and to make a new start. Indiana branches are found in Anderson, Fort Wayne, Gary, and Muncie where they are proving of great worth to the Negroes of those cities.

SORORITIES AND FRATERNITIES

These organizations have enjoyed a phenomenal growth in our colleges and universities during the last quarter century.

In addition to providing for the social side of student life, they also seek to encourage high scholastic and other desirable achievements. Many local as well as national bodies award scholarships to deserving young people of

special promise who are in need of financial assistance and in many ways make valuable contributions to the nation and the race in particular. A few years ago, the national Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority conducted a much needed health clinic for the Negroes in the deep South. †

There are two classes of local sororities: the graduate and the undergraduate. The graduate chapters are composed of members who are graduates of colleges or universities, and the undergraduate chapters are made up of those who have not completed their undergraduate courses at a recognized college or university.

There are undergraduate chapters of national sororities at the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, and at Indiana University, Bloomington. Local graduate sororities are to be found in Terre Haute and in Indianapolis.

The best known fraternity in the state is Kappa Alpha Psi which was organized at Indiana University, January 5, 1911, by E. W. Diggs, the founder, Guy L. Grant, Byron Armstrong, Paul Cain, Edward Irvine, Henry Irvine, John Lee, Marcus Blackemore, Henry Asher, and Dr. Ezra Alexander. The slogan of this organization is "Achievements through knowledge, fraternity, and fidelity."

Kappa Alpha Psi awards scholarships to needy high school graduates of high scholastic attainment and promise of future usefulness, on the recommendation of the faculty of the school of which the applicant is a graduate. It also contributes financially to the Urban League, the N. A. A. C. P., the Y. M. and the Y. W. C. A., and to other worthwhile organizations.

There are now sixty-nine alumni and sixty-four undergraduate chapters located at leading Negro colleges and universities and at a number of white institutions, admitting Negro students.

At the close of the World war in 1918 the American Legion was organized in Paris, France, by a great concourse of veterans of the American Expeditionary Force to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify comradeship among the members; and to render mutual helpfulness.

This nation-wide organization has been very successful in carrying out the purposes for which it was founded.

Negro posts are to be found in Evansville, Indianapolis, and Terre Haute.

THE LODGES

Most of the best known fraternal organizations of the nation have branches in Indiana. Subordinate lodges of the Odd Fellows, the K. of P.'s, the Elks, the Masons, and the Woodmen are to be found in many communities. There are state bodies of the Odd Fellows, the K. of P.'s, the Elks, and the Masons which hold meetings annually. All have attracted considerable followings from time to time. The K. of P.'s and the Court of Calanthe at one time enjoyed the largest memberships of any of these groups.

During the financial depression of the 1930's all of these organizations suffered a marked decrease in membership and in financial incomes; but with the return of more prosperous times, the Elks and the Masons have enjoyed a large increase in membership and in financial income.

All these groups give financial assistance to their sick members, and a small burial benefit to the relatives of deceased members. A sketch of the Masons and of the Order of the Eastern Star will give a representative picture.

Prior to the organization of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of Indiana all subordinate Masonic lodges of Indiana were affiliated with the Grand Lodge of the State of Ohio.

The Indiana Masonic Grand Lodge was organized in 1854. John Britton, the first grand master, served in that office from its organization until 1860. William T. Evans was the secretary from 1854 to 1856; James H. Hinton succeeded Britton as grand master in 1860 and served until 1864. The third grand master was John H. Harrison who accepted the office in 1864 and continued to serve until 1869. Hinton and Harrison guided the fortune of the new organization through the critical Civil War period.

In the accounts of early Negro settlements in existence prior to the Civil War, references are found to the help that the colored Masons gave to the Underground Railroad.

There are good reasons for believing that these early lodges gave their members sick benefits and that relatives of deceased members received burial benefits.

There are now forty subordinate Masonic lodges with a combined membership of three thousand. Many of them own valuable real estate from which they derive considerable financial income.

C. R. Richardson is the present grand master; J. C. Rutledge, deputy grand master; Harry Hastie, grand secretary; and B. T. Shaw, grand treasurer.

Prince Hall Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star was organized at Greencastle, October 25, 1888, by the six chapters that were then in the state. Like the Masonic lodges in the state prior to the organization of the Grand Lodge of Indiana, the six subordinate chapters of Indiana belonged to the Grand Court (Chapter) of the West (the Ohio Grand Court).

The six Indiana subordinate chapters that formed the state body were Union No. 1 and Leah No. 2, both of Indianapolis; White Lilly No. 3, Greencastle; Sheba No. 4, Mt. Vernon; Queen Esther No. 5 and Bethlehem No. 6, both of Terre Haute.

Mrs. Maggie Teister was elected the first most worthy grand matron; Mrs. Nellie Allen, associate grand matron; Henry Rogan, most worthy grand patron; Mrs. Emma J. Smith, grand secretary; and Mrs. Mary Mitchell, grand treasurer.

At the third meeting of the grand court, as the present grand chapter was called at that time, the name "Grand Court of Indiana" was changed to that of "Grand Chapter of Indiana", and the name "Subordinate Court" was changed to that of "Subordinate Chapter."

According to the last published **Proceedings of the Grand Chapter** of Indiana in 1949, there were thirty-nine subordinate chapters with a total membership of 1,920.

The name "Grand Chapter of Indiana, Order of the Eastern Star" was changed to that of "Queen Esther Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star", a few years ago, and to the present name, "Prince Hall Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star" in 1947.

This body and the Masonic grand lodge share equally in the ownership, the support, and the management of the Masonic and Eastern Star Home, a neat modern building located on a forty acre farm at Weaver, Indiana.

Any aged or homeless member of either of the two bodies is eligible to become a resident or inmate of the home and to spend the remainder of his life in its congenial surrounding.

The present officers of Prince Hall Grand Chapter are: Mrs. Mattie Anderson, Indianapolis, most worthy grand matron; John W. Lyda, Terre Haute, most worthy grand patron; Mrs. Adele Starks, Fort Wayne, right worthy associate grand matron; and William A. Powell, Princeton, worthy associate grand patron; Mrs. Marjorie Wickliffe, Fort Wayne, right worthy grand treasurer; and Mrs. Nila P. Manuel, Terre Haute, right worthy grand secretary.

THE INDIANA NEGRO HISTORY SOCIETY

A group of Negro teachers who were interested in the compilation, preservation, and publication of the history of the Negroes of the state and who were attending the Indiana State Teachers Association in Indianapolis in October, 1936, met at the Senate Avenue Branch of the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. to discuss the problem and to decide how to solve it. The result was the organization of the Indiana Negro History Society for accomplishing the aforementioned ends.

This society also attempts to encourage the writing and the publication of articles featuring the notable achievements of Indiana Negroes and to inspire Negro youth of great native ability to make the most of their talent for the good of the race and of all mankind.

This organization published the **Bulletin**, the official organ of the society until the preparation of **The Negro in the History of Indiana** absorbed all its energy.

The charter members of the society were the following: John W. Lyda, Charles T. Hyte, Nathan Hill, S. R. McElwaine, Millie D. Hoffman, Arletha Winrow, Walter Fort, and Elder W. Diggs. John W. Lyda was elected president, Walter Fort, vice president, Charles T. Hyte, secretary-treasurer, and Nathan Hill, corresponding secretary.

John W. Lyda is the author of the forthcoming publication. The funds for its publication have been raised by special donations, popular subscriptions, and the sale of advanced copies.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND POLITICS

RELIGION

The church of today doesn't play as vital a part in the life of the community as it did in earlier days when it was the civic, social, and general welfare center of the community. These activities of the church are now carried on largely by other organizations such as have just been mentioned in the last chapter.

Ministers were once regarded as the civic, educational, and general welfare leaders of their communities. At that time they were generally the best educated, or in some cases the only educated, person in the vicinity. Largely as a result of the opening of the public schools to Negroes, many other persons besides the ministers are now well educated. In many congregations, many members are better trained in the field of general education than are the ministers.

As has just been pointed out, a number of social welfare institutions carry on the activities in that field which the church once did. With the entrance of these into the life of the communities, leaders have been developed to man them. They share with the ministers in the leadership of the communities, particularly in the fields of the social, civic, and general welfare phases of life.

However the need for positive leadership in the fields of religion and morality is very great; and yet so little is being accomplished that it is apparent to even casual observers that the church and the ministers have a task that is a challenge to their ability and zeal. To achieve in this field it requires not only words but positive Christian living by religious and moral leaders.

Most of the churches, immediately following the Civil War, were of the Baptist or the Methodist denomination. But as the population grew from immigration from the South, the number of churches and of religious denominations likewise increased, especially in the Calumet District where the addition to the Negro population has been greatest in recent decades.

There are now many large and important church affiliated with the Apostolic, Church of God, Church of Israel,

Church of God in Christ, Seventh Day Adventist, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Catholics, and other denominations.

Most of these churches are further linked with state groups such as conferences and associations. They promote religious education through Sunday Schools and similar organizations. They carry on in many instances charitable activities among their members and to a less extent among the public in general.

There is no way by which the number of Negro churches can be determined accurately except by a more extended investigation than the information merits in such a treatise as this. It was estimated recently by those well informed in these matters that there are at least three hundred Negro churches in Indiana at present, and perhaps four hundred ministers. About one-half of these churches are located in Indianapolis.

In recent years the church has suffered a marked loss in its religious and moral influences. Many of its members seldom attend public worship in any church. Only a small per cent of the children whose parents are members of some church attend Sunday School or other organizations for religious education, in spite of the fact that nearly one-half of the total population belonged to some church in 1936, the last year for which figures are available. The largest churches are in Indianapolis and in Gary.

EDUCATION

Negro children were first admitted to the public schools in 1869. According to the census of 1870, the Negro population of Indiana was 24,560. The school population was perhaps 10,000.

At that time a large majority of the Negroes lived in the southern part of the state. The law that provided for admitting Negro children to the public schools also provided for separate or segregated schools for each race. A law enacted later permitted school corporations, if they chose, to provide schools to which all pupils regardless of race might be admitted, or separate schools for the races, and further provided that in districts where there were not enough Negro children for a school, that such children might attend the school for white children.

From the very first it has been the practice in the

southern part of the state to provide separate schools for the whites and the Negroes, while in the central and the northern part of the state the pupils have been mixed but the teachers have always been white.

As the Negro population has decreased in the rural and small urban communities, leaving too few pupils for a school, the Negro children have in all cases been sent to the school for the white children, but in no case has the Negro teacher been sent with her pupils.

Until recently the cities of Evansville, Indianapolis, New Albany, Jeffersonville, Madison, Princeton, and Mt. Vernon have maintained separate schools for white and Negro pupils through all the grades from the first through the twelfth. A number of school corporations have maintained separate schools either through the sixth or through the eighth grade, only.

At this point the following efforts to abolish separate schools are of interest.

Gabriel Jones who was elected to the lower house of the General Assembly from Marion County introduced a bill to abolish separate schools along racial lines in 1898 on the ground that schools for Negroes were inferior to the schools for whites. This bill passed the lower house but failed in the upper house or senate.

George L. Knox, editor of **The Freeman**, the leading Negro newspaper of the nation at that time, was called into council by the legislators as to the wisdom of enacting the proposed law. He spoke against the adoption of the law because its enforcement would put so many Negro educators out of work. Perhaps, Knox did not agree with the contention of Jones that Negro schools were inferior to those of the whites. The educational qualifications of all teachers of the state and their supervision has always been the same regardless of race.

House Enrolled Act 242, the so-called Hunter-Binder Law, was adopted by the 1949 session of the General Assembly. It outlaws by 1954 the segregation of the pupils and teaching staffs of all kindergartens, elementary, secondary, college, and universities of the state that are in whole or in part supported by public taxation on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Below are to be found the two sections containing these provisions.

Section 2. The school commissioners, trustee or

trustees of any township, city, school city or county or state or any other public school, college, or university or official shall not build or erect, establish, maintain, continue, or permit any segregated or separate public kindergarten, public school or district or public school department or division on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin of the attending pupil or pupils.

Section 6. No public school, college, or university supported in whole or in part by public funds of the State of Indiana or any township, town, county, or school city, or official thereof, shall discriminate in any way in hiring, upgrading, tenure, or placement of any teacher on the basis of race, creed, or color.

A number of cities that had maintained separate schools for white and Negro pupils have recently abandoned the schools for Negro children and sent them to the schools formerly attended by white children only where the teachers are all white but in no case except that of the city of Elkhart have the Negro teachers been assigned similar positions in the resulting mixed schools. In that city the two tenure Negro teachers were assigned teaching positions in the public schools. The one non-tenure Negro teacher that had formerly been employed resigned, a loss of one teacher. No additional Negro teacher has been employed by that city since the enactment of the Hunter-Binder Law in 1949.

As a result of the way school officials of most cities have administered the Anti-segregation school law, as just pointed out, the number of Negro teachers in the state has notably decreased and in some communities with a considerable Negro school age population, Negro teachers are no more despite the provisions of section 6 of the above law to the contrary.

Recently, the state N.A.A.C.P. has taken note of this plain disregard of the law and is becoming active to see that it is enforced in its entirety or that the teaching staffs of the Negro schools are integrated in the non-segregated schools.

The following Negroes have served as members of the State Board of Education:

Warren M. Anderson, assistant principal of Roosevelt High School, Gary, was the first Negro to serve as a

member of the State Board of Education. He holds the A.B. degree from the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, and the A.M. degree from the University of Michigan. He is an active church and civic worker in his home city.

Cleo H. Blackburn was the second Negro to serve on this board. He has been for a number of years the successful director of Flanner House, Indianapolis, the best known social service institution for Negroes in the Middlewest. He received his academic college training at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, and at Indiana University.

Charles Edward Rochelle, principal of Lincoln High School, Evansville, is the present Negro member of this board. He received the A.B. and the A.M. degrees from the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, and the D.Ed. from the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. He is active in the affairs of the American Teachers Association and the American Legion. He has also served on the summer faculty of the A. and T. College, Nashville, Tennessee, several years.

POLITICS

To clearly understand just why nearly all the early Negro voters were Republicans, one need only to recall the following facts. When the matter of approving the war amendments to the Federal Constitution was being considered, by the Indiana General Assembly, the Democrats opposed their ratification even to the extent of resigning their seats in 1869 when the Fifteenth Amendment was being considered at the regular session. The Democrats opposed Governor Morton in his efforts to prosecute vigorously the cause of the Union during the Civil War. They were commonly branded as being disloyal to the Union and also as being anti-Negro. The Republicans had saved the Union and emancipated the slaves. Too, Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator, was a Republican. Therefore the native Indiana Negro and his ex-slave brother from the South saw as one man. Both were Republicans.

Nevertheless as time passed, the number of Negro voters who had either lived under the disability provision of the Constitution of 1851, or had known from personal

experience the hardships of slavery, had greatly decreased; and the number of Negro voters who had not experienced these oppressions greatly increased, and as the Democrat party was no longer stigmatized as being disloyal, a few Negroes became Democrats.

At a later date, President Franklin D. Roosevelt displayed a sympathetic and humanitarian attitude toward Negroes during his term of office. This caused many Negroes who had formerly been Republicans to become Roosevelt Democrats. The Negro also recalled that a decade earlier, the Republican party of Indiana came under the sway of the Ku Klux Klan, an anti-Negro organization. This caused many more Negroes that had formerly been loyal Republicans to desert the "Grand Old Party" and to cast their lot with the Democrats.

At one time in the not too distant past there was an odium attached to being a Negro Democrat, but that is in no sense true at present. A number of the leaders of the race now assert that it is to the best interest of the race to divide politically. It is said by careful observers that the Negro voters of our state are at present about equally divided between the two major political parties.

The attitude of the Democrats and the Republicans as to the Negro is very similar. Both parties have elected Negroes to the General Assembly of the state and to the City Council of Indianapolis; and both have appointed Negroes to important positions in the local, the state, and the national government.

The list of Negroes who have been elected to the General Assembly and to the City Council of Indianapolis is impressive:

Negro Members of House of Representatives Regular Session:

James S. Hinton, Republican, Marion County	1881
John W. Townsend, Republican, Wayne County	1885
Gabriel Jones, Republican, Marion County	1897
Henry J. Richardson, Democrat, Marion County	1933 1935
Robert L. Stanton, Democrat, Lake County	1933 1935
Marshall A. Talley, Democrat, Marion County	1937

J. Chester Allen, Democrat, St. Joseph County1939
 1941

Theodore Cable, Democrat, Marion County1939

James S. Hunter, Democrat, Lake County1941
 1949

Jesse L. Dickinson, Democrat, St. Joseph County ...1943
 1945

Wilbur W. Grant, Republican, Marion County1943
 1947

Charles Decker, Republican, Vanderburg County ...1947

Forest W. Littlejohn, Democrat, Marion County1949

Senate:

Robert Lee Brokenburr, Republican, Marion County 1941
 1947

Negro Members of the City Council of Indianapolis:

Dr. Sumner A. Furnace, Republican,1918-1922

Dr. Theodore Cable, Democrat1934-1938

F. B. Ransome, Democrat1938-1942

CHAPTER VIII

A BACKWARD GLANCE—A SUMMARY

The first Negroes to come to Indiana after the sovereignty over it had passed into American hands were either indentured servants or slaves of their masters who settled in what is known as the river counties of Indiana. However, when Indiana Territory became a state in 1816, slavery was prohibited although that institution had already taken a firm root in her virgin soil. It was uprooted finally after a bitter conflict between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery factions of the population.

During the period from 1820 to 1850, many free Negroes, especially from the state of North Carolina and Virginia, emigrated to Indiana of their own accord to better their own condition just as the other pioneers did. They settled mainly in Gibson, Grant, Hamilton, Henry, Randolph, Rush, Vigo, and Wayne Counties near settlements of their Quaker friends for protection against man-stealers and to give their children the advantage of the schools provided for them by their former masters and friends.

These Negro pioneers bought land from the Federal Government or from pioneers who had preceded them, transformed it into farms and homesteads, built log cabins to be used as dwellings, churches, and school-houses, fought diseases and ferocious wild animals, raised crops in their clearings, killed game and fur-bearing animals in the forest, caught fish in the rivers and the lakes, and in many ways contributed to the building of our present civilization.

As agents of the Underground Railroad, these free Negro pioneers assisted many of their fugitive slave brethren to elude their pursuers and to reach Canada and freedom.

The Constitution of 1851 and the laws passed at a later date contained the so-called "Negro Disability Provisions" that forbade any more Negroes coming into the state, denied them the right to vote, to belong to the militia, to be a witness in court in cases to which a white person was a party, and to send their children to the public schools. It further provided for the registration of all Negroes residing in the state prior to the adoption of the

1851 Constitution, and very definitely attempted to encourage the free Negroes within its borders to emigrate to Africa, especially to Liberia, by offering to give each free Negro in the state who was willing to so emigrate one hundred acres of land on that continent and \$50 in cash. This however was not notably effective in removing the free Negro population from the state.

Practically all the disability provisions of this instrument were removed from it within a few decades after the close of the Civil War. For example: he now has the right to vote, to hold any office to which he may be appointed or elected, to send his children to the public schools on the same terms as the whites, and to testify in the courts of the state in any case.

Thirteen different Negroes have been elected to the Lower House of the General Assembly and one to the Upper House. Three Negroes of Indianapolis have been elected to the City Council of that municipality.

The first Negro to be elected to the Indiana General Assembly was James B. Hinton, a Republican from Marion County who served during the regular session of 1881.

The Negro population of what is now the State of Indiana was twenty-eight in 1800. It had increased to 11,420 by 1860 and to 121,916 by 1940.

The drift of the total population has been northward and cityward. As a group this has been notably greater among Negroes than among whites and is the cause of the almost complete disappearance of a number of once populous rural Negro settlements and the marked increase of the Negro urban population. For instance, the Underwood Settlement in Vigo County which was a prosperous Negro community of several score persons a few decades ago has now only one Negro inhabitant, Mack Underwood, a descendant of John Underwood, the founder.

The immigration of a large number of Negroes from the South to Indiana during World Wars I and II to work in defense plants has caused a marked increase in the Negro population of many urban communities, particularly Indianapolis and the cities of the Calumet steel manufacturing district.

That the Negro has been loyal to the land of his birth is evinced by the fact that nearly 2,000 of the few more than 10,000 living in Indiana during the Civil War shouldered their guns in answer to "The Great Emancipator's" call for men to defend the flag. His sons have bled and died heroically in later conflicts in which our nation has engaged, and at home he has contributed his full share of labor and sacrifices that our nation might win.

During the time of peace since emancipation he has enjoyed greater opportunities and has patriotically accepted the larger duties and responsibilities entailed.

He has given to his own state and to a number of others many of our greatest men and women. Among those who should be listed here are Dr. Percy L. Julian, Dr. Wesley J. Lyda, Dr. Carl G. Roberts, and Dr. Martin D. Jenkins.

Unfortunately even today Indiana Negroes do not enjoy equal opportunities with the whites in the field of employment in industry and in commercial establishments. The positions and jobs open to him are usually the least desirable, with scarcely any prospects of up-grading or of promotion to a higher type of job with larger pay.

Much remains to be done before he enjoys full equality with the whites in the field of employment and in other fields also. However if one compares his present economic, political, and educational status with what it was when Indiana Territory was carved from the Northwest Territory in 1800 or even only a century ago, one is impressed by the unprecedented change for the better that has taken place in the state and also in the nation as a whole.

According to the opinion of capable scholars who have visited all sections of the globe where large numbers of Negroes live and who have made a careful analytic study of their economic, political, educational and social status, that of the American Negro in all these fields is far superior to that of any similar group found in any other part of the world. Doubtlessly this is due to the fact we live in a democracy. Here the government exists for the welfare of the citizen and not the citizen for the government as is true in autocratic governments such as the ones that are found behind the iron curtain of Com-

munism. In our country we have the free enterprise system of business and industry and the private ownership of property. This has made it possible for the Negro, as well as others, to attempt to better his condition in all fields by his own efforts and the assistance of his friends of the other racial group, with no fear of being penalized by the government of the state or the nation.

Since the majority of Negroes belong to the lowest income group, it is no wonder that they live in the so-called slum district of our cities where the dwellings are in many cases dilapidated, unsanitary, unattractive, and overcrowded. Crime and disease tend to thrive in such environments.

To alleviate these conditions in Indianapolis, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Gary, Muncie, and New Albany, the Federal Government has constructed modern sanitary housing projects in which apartments are rented at a very moderate price to persons with low incomes.

We may now with interest and profit turn our attention to the following tables of the location and population of the ten largest towns and cities of Indiana in 1850 and 1940. All these municipalities in 1850 were either on or south of the National Road. The list follows:

Indianapolis	405	Vernon	211
New Albany	305	Newport (Fountain	
Madison	296	City)	207
Terre Haute	227	Charlestown	154
Jeffersonville	223	Richmond	151
Vincennes	221		

The total Negro population of these towns and cities in 1850 was 2,400. That of the state at that time was 11,262. The population of the towns and cities listed above was 21.3 per cent of the total. In proportion to their number about four times as many Negroes lived in urban communities a century later as did in 1850. The rural Negro population in 1850 was 77.7 per cent, a little more than three-fourths of the entire population. Less than one-fifth, 18 per cent, of Negroes of the state live in rural districts at present.

The Ten Cities Having the Largest Negro Population in 1940

	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent of Total Population
Indianapolis . . .	386,672	51,142	13.2
Gary	111,719	20,394	18.3
Evansville	97,062	6,862	7.1
East Chicago . .	54,637	6,101	11.2
South Bend	101,268	3,565	3.5
Terre Haute . . .	62,693	3,398	5.4
Muncie	49,720	2,985	6.0
Richmond	35,147	2,523	7.2
Fort Wayne . . .	118,410	2,517	2.1
Anderson	41,572	1,331	3.2

The total population of the state in 1940 was 3,427,796. Of that number 121,916 or 3.55 per cent were Negroes.

The total population of these ten cities in 1940 was 100,806 or 82.88 per cent of the Negro population of the state.

Only 21,108 Indiana Negroes lived outside of these ten largest cities.

Nearly one-half of the Negroes of the state lived in Indianapolis in 1940.

The Indiana cities that experienced a substantial increase in their Negro population from 1930 to 1940 were Indianapolis, Gary, and East Chicago. The last two are located in the steel manufacturing Calumet District. The population of the other seven cities remained about the same during that decade.

All these cities except Evansville are either on the National Road or north of it, in part at least as a result of the northward drift of the Negro population of the state.

Growth of Negro Population by Decades from
1800 to 1940

Year	Population	Increase	Per Cent of Increase
1800	298	000	00.00
1810	630	332	108.00
1820	1,420	790	125.00
1830	3,632	2,212	155.00
1840	7,168	3,536	97.00
1850	11,262	4,094	57.00
1860	11,428	166	1.50
1870	24,560	13,132	155.00
1880	39,228	14,668	55.60
1890	45,216	5,987	15.30
1900	57,505	12,290	21.40
1910	60,320	2,815	4.50
1920	60,810	20,490	32.30
1930	111,982	21,172	26.20
1940	121,916	10,934	9.70

During the decade from 1850 to 1860, Negroes were effectively prohibited by law from settling in Indiana, for the increase in population during that period was only 166. A few of those living in the state at that time were persuaded by the Indiana Branch of the American Colonization Society to emigrate to Liberia, West Africa.

CHAPTER IX

A FEW NOTEWORTHY INDIANA NEGROES

The true measure of a Negro's ability, ambition, and real worth is not how much he has been able to accomplish but rather what he has been able to achieve in spite of the many handicaps and obstacles that have beset his pathway.

The list which follows is a sampling from a large list of pioneers, builders, and other noteworthy Negroes. Due to a lack of space no more names are listed here.

Unfortunately for Indiana at present and for the days to come, a large number of the brightest, most promising, and most ambitious young men and young women of the last generation have cast their lots in other localities where there is employment in the field in which they are best prepared to serve and where there is greater probability of their advancement.

However, it is to the credit of Indiana that she has produced and has educated so many young persons who are able to make valuable contributions to the community and to the state where their lot has been cast.

Anderson, F. Marion, the son of Louis and Ransom Anderson, was born in Lost Creek Township, Vigo County, March 23, 1865. He received his education in the public schools of Terre Haute. In early manhood he was united in marriage to Mrs. Addie Harris. We know their children as Mrs. Sylvia Blake, Terre Haute; Mrs. Helen Hall, Indianapolis; Dr. L. H. Anderson, Terre Haute; James Anderson, a teacher of Louisville, Kentucky; and Warren Anderson, assistant principal of Roosevelt High School, Gary. Both Mr. and Mrs. Anderson were active in the civic, community, and church life of Terre Haute.

Both willingly made many sacrifices that their children might enjoy the opportunity to acquire an education.

Bigham, Mrs. Edith H., principal of Lincoln School, Terre Haute, was born and reared in Evansville, where she received her elementary and secondary education. She then entered the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, from which she received both the A.B. and the A.M. degrees. Soon after receiving the A.B. degree,

she accepted a teaching position in the Terre Haute Public Schools. She has also served as a critic teacher for the Indiana State Teachers College. She is active in the civic, educational, fraternal, and sorority affairs of her home city. She has served as Matron of Bethlehem Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star; as the Basilus of the local chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; as the chairman of a number of important committees of the teachers' research groups of the Terre Haute Public Schools; and as a member of the advisory council of the Terre Haute City Schools.

Bethea, Dr. D. A., a member of the staff of the Hammond, Indiana, Hospital, is an active civic, community, fraternal, and church worker of his home city and the state. He is chairman of the Public Relations Committee of Prince Hall Grand Lodge F. and A. M., and is also an active member of the Medical, Dental, and Pharmaceutical Society of Indiana. He has contributed articles in his field to the leading race newspapers of the country.

Hawkins, Charner, who owned one thousand acres of fertile farm land at the time of his death, was the son of Jacob and Ellen Hawkins who were brought to Daviess County as indentured servants by their master prior to 1810. When Indiana became a state in 1816, his parents filed a suit for their freedom because the state constitution prohibited slavery. The court decided that they were therefore free. Charner Hawkins married and reared a family, but his descendants, like many others, soon parted with the farm land which had been their heritage.

Herndon, Benjamin F., who graduated from a theological seminary in Washington, D. C., but never pastored a church, was born in Virginia, the son of Benjamin Herndon, Sr., and Sally Herndon. He received his elementary and secondary education in the schools of his native state. He came to Terre Haute a number of years ago where he obtained employment at the American Car and Foundry Company. He united with the Second Baptist Church and was soon elected a member of the Deacon Board of which he was a member at the time of his death a few years ago. At one time he conducted a grocery in partnership with his brother, Reverend John W. Brown, at South 131½ Street and College Avenue. This was finally liquidated.

Lyda, Dr. Wesley John, Director of the Graduate School of Education of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, was born April 8, 1914, in Terre Haute, the son of John W. and Mrs. Lena B. Lyda, both of whom are teachers. Dr. Lyda received his elementary and secondary education in the schools of his native city. On graduating from the high school, he received a Rector Scholarship for four years of study at DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, from which he graduated with distinction with the A.B. degree. He then entered the Indiana State Teachers College from which he graduated with honors and with a scholarship index of 100 and received the A.M. degree. He was awarded a fellowship by the General Education Board and entered Indiana University from which he received the Ph.D. degree. While attending Indiana University, he acted as a graduate assistant.

He taught at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia; at Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland; and at the University of Texas at Houston, Texas, before accepting his present position at Atlanta University.

He has written a number of articles for leading educational publications. He is listed in the 1952-1953 issue of **Who's Who in America**.

Manuel, Mrs. Nila P., principal of Highland School of Harrison Township, Terre Haute, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Pettiford of Lost Creek Township, Vigo County. After completing her elementary and secondary education in Lost Creek Township, she entered the Indiana State Teachers College from which she received the A.B. and A.M. degrees. She is active in the civic, educational, and fraternal affairs of Terre Haute and is also the secretary of Prince Hall Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star, State of Indiana.

Hoffman, Miss Millie Deka, president of the Federation of Colored Women's Club of Indiana, was born in Lafayette and is the daughter of Joseph and Mary L. Hoffman, pioneers of that city. She received her elementary and secondary education in her native city and her college training at the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, from which she received the B.S. degree. She has been employed in the schools of Lafayette a number of years. She is constructively active in the civic, community, fraternal, club, and religious life of her com-

munity and the state. She is a charter member of the Indiana Negro History Society.

Jackson, Joseph, principal of Lincoln School, Terre Haute, for more than a quarter century, came to Terre Haute with his mother at the age of ten years in 1865. After graduating from the high school with honors, he accepted a teaching position in that city, which he held until only a few months before his death in 1919. He was rated as one of the very best teachers of the city by the school administration.

He was so deeply interested in the religious life of his community that he organized the Rising Sun Mission to minister to the religious needs of his community before there was any church in the neighborhood. This later became the present Spruce Street A.M.E. Church.

He was much interested in keeping the ground around his home attractive and in raising beautiful flowers. This served as an inspiration to his neighbors and as an encouragement to them to do likewise. This community is now one of the most attractive in the city.

Jenkins, Dr. Martin D., president of Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland, was born September 11, 1904, in Terre Haute and is the son of David and Josephine Jenkins. He received his elementary and his secondary education in the public schools of the city of his birth; his undergraduate education at Howard University, Washington, D. C., from which he received the A.B. degree; and his graduate training from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, from which he received the Ph.D. degree.

He taught at Chaney College in Pennsylvania and at Howard University before accepting his present position at Morgan College.

He has published various articles in leading magazines, especially in the field of education. He lives on the campus of Morgan College, Baltimore, where he is president.

Julian, Dr. Percy L., director of research at the Glidden Company, Chicago, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. James Julian, who moved to Greencastle, Indiana, with their three sons and two daughters that they might avail themselves of the advantages of the excellent public schools of that city, and of DePauw University located there.

Percy L. Julian, the eldest child of the family, graduated from DePauw, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1923. He then entered Harvard University where he earned the A.M. degree. Later he went to the University of Vienna, Austria, where he received the Ph.D. degree. He taught at Fisk University, Nashville; at Howard University; and at DePauw University before accepting his present position. He has developed by chemical synthesis a number of important substances heretofore produced only by nature. Dr. Julian has a staff of nearly fifty chemical research assistants at the Glidden Company Research Laboratory in Chicago.

May, Oliver J., whose father was a minister and whose mother was a practical nurse and seamstress, received his pre-college education in Terre Haute where he attended the Indiana State Teachers College from which he received both his B.S. and M.S. degrees. He has taught in the public schools of both Jeffersonville and Terre Haute. He has manifested much interest in the civic, community, and general welfare work of the community where he has lived. His avocations are coin collecting and handicrafts.

Morris, Mrs. Edna J., teacher of the French language in Roosevelt High School, Gary, attended the world-famous Sorbonne in Paris, France, after graduating from Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, to better prepare herself for her profession. She is highly respected as a civic, community, and fraternal leader of the city of Gary and of the state. She is a Past Grand Matron of Prince Hall Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star of Indiana.

Ousley, Mrs. Willa H., Past Grand Matron of Prince Hall Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star, Jurisdiction of Indiana, and an influential leader of the Order, was born and educated in the city of Indianapolis.

At an early age she became interested in the work of this organization to which she has given much thought and devoted service. While serving as Grand Matron of the state she successfully conducted a financial effort to refurbish the Masonic and Eastern Star Home at Weaver. She was the general chairman of the committee that directed the entertainment of the International Conference of Grand Chapters that met at Indianapolis in 1952.

Perry, Reverend H. A., the founder of the Carver Community Center of Kokomo and the principal of Douglas School of the same city, received his education at Tuskegee Institute under Dr. Booker T. Washington; Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa; the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute; Ball State Teachers College, Muncie; and Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia. He holds the A.B. degree from the Indiana State Teachers College, the A.M. degree from Ball State Teachers College, and the B.D. degree from Gammon Theological Seminary. While attending these institutions, he had to earn his own expenses.

In early manhood he married Miss Annie Whitaker whose father was the chaplain of Tuskegee Institute under Dr. Booker T. Washington. To the Perry's six children were born. All of them have completed their college education with high scholastic records. The father is now the pastor of one of the leading A.M.E. churches of Indianapolis.

Price, Mrs. Artie Buckner received her elementary and secondary education in the Indianapolis Public Schools and her A.B. degree from the Indiana State Teachers College and her A.M. degree from Indiana University.

She has taught in the public schools of Tulsa, Oklahoma, Lafayette, and Indianapolis.

She has been active in the religious, sorority, and fraternal life of her home city and is a member of the Household of Ruth and the Order of the Eastern Star.

Her hobbies are needle craft, gardening, and music. She is a student of both the piano and the organ.

Quinn, Reverend William Paul, one of the early Bishops of the African Methodist Church and affectionately remembered as "The Father of the A. M. E. Church of this section", was born in Calcutta, India, about 1800. He was converted to the Christian religion by the preaching of a Quaker missionary. He was disowned by his family for this and later ostracised. He made his way to the United States where he united with the A. M. E. Church and was licensed to preach the Gospel. He was sent to the West as a missionary. He was so successful in organizing churches that he attracted the attention of his denomination and was elected a Bishop. In that capacity he rendered distinguished service until his death in 1873.

Roberts, Dr. Carl Glennis, one of the distinguished surgeons of the race, was the son of Anthony Roberts, a school teacher, and Nancy Roberts, a practical nurse. He was born in the Roberts Settlement in Hamilton County where he received his elementary education. He then entered the Fairmount High School in Grant County from which he graduated. He received his college and medical training at Loyola University. To further prepare himself for his life's work he attended graduate medical colleges in our own country and also in Europe. Among them were The Chicago Institute of Surgery, the Cook County Hospital Graduate School of Pathology, and others. He served on the staffs of Provident Hospital, Chicago, Chicago General Hospital, and at a number of other hospitals.

He was a member of the American Medical Association and served as the president of the National Medical Association.

He contributed a number of articles to the leading medical journals of the country.

He was united in marriage to Miss Lucile Williams, of Chicago in 1908, and a son, Carl Glennis Roberts, Jr., was born to them.

Dr. Roberts was deeply interested in the work of the Y. M. C. A. and that of the Urban League to which he gave much of his time and finances.

Roberts, Mrs. Eunice, one of the most skillful dress-makers of the state, is the wife of H. O. Roberts, one of the best citizens of Terre Haute. Because of her skill, she numbers her customers not only among the people of the city, but in all parts of the state.

Mr. and Mrs. Roberts are the parents of three daughters and one son. To all of them they gave an education. Mrs. Roberts is active in the community, civic, and religious life of her city. Because of her whole-hearted service to all worthwhile community projects, she is highly respected by those who know her best.

Shackleford, Mrs. Jane Dabney, the author of two well-known books, **The Story of the Negro** and **My Happy Days**, was born in Logansport where she received her elementary and secondary education. She received her undergraduate college training at the Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, from which she received the A. B. degree. She also attended Columbia University

where she earned the A.M. degree. She is a successful teacher and has served as a critic teacher for the Indiana State Teachers College. She has been active in the community, sorority, and educational affairs of Terre Haute and has served as the secretary of the Teachers Association of that city.

Stewart, George P., Founder of **The Indianapolis Recorder**, was born in Vincennes where he received his education. From childhood he had an ambition to publish a newspaper for his race.

In order to launch this project, he went to Indianapolis, the metropolis of Indiana in 1898, where he launched the publication of his newspaper, **The Indianapolis Recorder**, which he published until his death in 1924. His son, Marcus, now publishes it on a nation-wide basis.

Taylor, Miss Marguerite, critic teacher for the Indiana State Teachers College and counselor at the Booker T. Washington School, Terre Haute, received her elementary and secondary education in the Indianapolis Public Schools and her undergraduate and graduate college training at the Indiana State Teachers College where she earned the A.B. and the A.M. degrees. Soon after completing her undergraduate college course, she accepted a teaching position in the Terre Haute Public Schools.

She has shown a great interest in the community, educational, and religious life of Terre Haute. She is now the Superintendent of the Spruce Street Church Sunday School of Terre Haute.

Underwood, John, the founder of the settlement that bears his name, was born in North Carolina in 1803. He was married to Miss Louise Kennihorn of Virginia in 1826. To this union eleven boys and girls were born. Mr. Underwood and his family moved to Linton Township, Vigo County, in 1841. He was an industrious and thrifty man and accumulated a large farm of fertile soil. He acted as an agent for the Underground Railroad. He was also a member of the Masonic Lodge. At one time a band of slave owners who suspected that he was helping their slaves to elude them angrily threatened to kill or severely punish him. Being a Mason, he gave them the recognition sign of that lodge. The slave owners themselves were Masons, so without carrying out their original intention, they withdrew, leaving him unharmed.

Walker, Madame C. J., the founder of the Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, was born December 25, 1867, in Delta, Louisiana.

When she was six years old her parents died leaving her an orphan. She then went to Vicksburg to live with her sister whose husband treated her so cruelly that she married at the age of fourteen to get a home. Six years later, her husband died leaving her a widow with one daughter.

One day in 1900 while she was washing clothes to earn a living for herself and her daughter, she received the inspiration that finally led to her discovery of treatment for the hair. At once she began to travel to all parts of the country to introduce her treatment. By this endeavor she succeeded in building up a large mail order market for her products.

After several attempts to establish a plant in which to manufacture her products, she finally succeeded in establishing such a plant in Indianapolis. She conducted her business at her first location until she erected the present million dollar building at the corner of Indiana Avenue and West Street, Indianapolis. This is said to be the most complete plant of its kind that Negroes own.

Mrs. Walker was very deeply interested in the work carried on by the Y. W. and the Y. M. C. A. When funds were being raised to erect the present building of the Senate Avenue branch of the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A., she donated \$1,000 to the fund.

At the time of her death a few years ago, she was living in her palatial residence, "Villa LaWaro", at Irvington on the Hudson.

Watkins, John W., Sr., founder of the Beach Settlement in Rush County, was a slave owner himself in North Carolina before coming to the Beech about 1829 or 1830 in company with a Quaker named Binford. He emancipated all of his slaves and twice walked all the way back to North Carolina to pilot caravans of free Negroes to Indiana.

He married soon after settling at the Beech and to this union one daughter and four sons were born. Watkins was an upright, God fearing man who gave much of his time to the religious and educational development of the settlement.

Wilson, Clifford, clinical research assistant at the Eli Lilly Laboratory for Clinical Research of the Indianapolis City Hospital, received his elementary and secondary education in the Indianapolis Public Schools and his college training at the University of Michigan. Before completing his undergraduate course at that university, he met and fell in love with Miss Mary Virginia Duncan, a student of Butler College and the John Herron Art Institute. They were soon married and are the parents of five bright, healthy children.

He first found employment at the Atkins Saw Company, but the work carried on there did not appeal to him. He next found employment as a window washer at the Eli Lilly Company. He was soon transferred to the Lilly Laboratory for Clinical Research at the Indianapolis City Hospital. Here he soon displayed unusual ability in laboratory research. This attracted the attention of the members of the research staff. He was so interested in his work that he read all the available textbooks in the laboratory and further designed much improved apparatus for carrying on researches.

While assisting Dr. Irvine Page of the staff in carrying on experiments in hypertension, he designed and constructed apparatus much superior to that then in use.

He also constructed a model of the human heart that was exhibited at a meeting of the American Medical Society in New York where it won honorable mention. Pictures of the apparatus he has constructed and complimentary sketches of him have appeared in **Color** and in **The Indianapolis News**.

Lyda, John W., Jr., the author of this book, was born in Sparta, Tennessee, and is the son of John W. Lyda, Sr. and his wife, Caroline Rutherford Lyda. At an early age he moved with the other members of his family to Gibson County where he received his elementary and secondary education. He received his undergraduate and graduate education at Indiana University and at the Indiana State Teachers College. He received both the A.B. and the A.M. degrees from the latter institution.

On reaching early manhood, he was united in marriage to Miss Lena B. Ashworth, a teacher of the Terre Haute Public Schools. They have two children, Dr. Wesley John Lyda, now director of the Graduate School of Education, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, and Mrs.

Thelma Lyda Clash of Cambridge, Maryland, a teacher of the Easton, Maryland, Public Schools.

Mr. Lyda, the father, has taught in the Terre Haute Public Schools a number of years and has also acted as a critic teacher for Indiana State Teachers College.

He has published various articles in newspapers and magazines and is the author of **A Self-Rating Scale for Supervisors of Instruction**, the official **History of Prince Hall Order of the Eastern Star, Jurisdiction of Indiana**, and also of **The Negro in the History of Indiana**.

He is a member of the National Education Association, the Indiana State Teachers Association, the Masons, and the Order of the Eastern Star of which he is the Grand Patron.

He is active in the civic, the community, the educational, and the church life of his community.

Clift, Joseph. One of the most successful farmers of the state was born in Henson County, Kentucky, in 1862. He came to Gibson County with his parents in a covered wagon and settled near Lyles in 1879. He married soon afterwards and reared a family of three sons, William Henry, John Kayus, and J. Leslie. After receiving a good education, the sons all became successful farmers. At the time of his death the father owned 700 acres of valuable farm land. He specialized in raising grain, live stock and melons. He was active in the religious, fraternal, and general welfare of the people of Gibson County.

Webb, Charles Arthur, was born in Asheville, North Carolina, the only son of slave parents. At the close of the Civil War he came to Indianapolis, Indiana, as a hostler boy for a wealthy man. This man was interested in him and helped him to secure better employment. From the beginning Charles was interested in bettering his condition and realizing that some education was necessary, he attended the night school taught by the Rev. Moses Broyles, which was conducted in the Second Baptist Church. There he learned to read, write, and solve simple arithmetic problems. During the day Charles worked as a blacksmith.

In a little more than a year he was married to Huldah A. Bates, of Kentucky. His wife was as ambitious as he and they soon purchased ground on the south side of In-

dianapolis where they built a modest home. This land is still in the possession of their heirs.

Webb's first business venture was the purchase of a team of horses. Soon afterwards he rented ground near the Union Station where he started a coal and wood yard. He next purchased a tract of wooded land from which he cut and sold wood. One of his best customers was Kingan & Company, meat packers, Indianapolis, which he furnished with all the green hickory used in smoking their products. Even after all the timber was cut from his own land he went out in the state and purchased hickory timber which he cut and hauled to Kingan & Company with teams that he owned.

When natural gas was discovered in the state the demand for wood decreased somewhat so Webb at once sought additional means of keeping busy. He learned that a small housemoving firm was anxious to sell, so he formed a company to purchase its equipment. Under his leadership his company soon built up a prosperous business in this field throughout the entire state. Among the projects carried out under his supervision was the moving of the three-story brick building across the campus at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Terre Haute; the moving of the first hotel building at French Lick, Ind.; the moving of the natural gas engine from the cars to the pumping station at Elwood, Ind.; the moving of the great pumping engine of the Indianapolis Water Works; the unloading of Miss Indiana from cars and hauling her to the base of the Soldiers' and Sailors' monument; and the placing of the safety vault in the Indiana Trust Co. of Indianapolis. Various other places where his work was outstanding could be named, but these, we feel, will show how race does not stand in one's way to achieve if the will to do and the know how are there. The following is a quotation from an editorial in the Indianapolis News the day after his death: "There is no royal road to anything. This man's color did not stand in his way. He showed that he could do the work and he got it."

For eleven years Charles Webb was president of the only successful Negro building association in the city, namely, the Fidelity.

Charles A. Webb came to Indianapolis about 1865 as a boy with less than a dollar in his pocket. He died in 1906, one of the city's most respected and substantial citizens.

PART FOUR

CHAPTER X

THE CITY OF TERRE HAUTE

The words **Terre Haute** mean high ground. This city stands on the highest ground along the Wabash River for many miles in both directions. It is the scene of our state song, "On the Banks of the Wabash", and is the county seat of Vigo County.

EARLY SETTLERS

Henry Harris was one of the earliest Negro settlers of Terre Haute. He had been the slave of Benjamin Harris of Richmond, Virginia, a Quaker tobacco manufacturer, who set Henry free in 1809 at the age of nineteen years. He made his way to this city where he married a girl named Charlotte nine years after he had been emancipated. They reared eleven children. He took part in the Black Hawk War and his son, Bradford, served in the War with Mexico being present at the fall of the City of Mexico.

The father died at the age of fifty years.

Armistead Stewart came to the city in company with Danial Durham, a North Carolina Quaker, in 1815. Stewart indentured himself to Durham and remained in servitude until Durham's son released him after twenty years. The elder Durham returned to North Carolina before his death to bring other Negroes back with him.

Stewart married and reared a large family as was customary at that time.

Mrs. Sylvia Artis and her sons, Isom and John, came to Terre Haute from Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1832. Her husband did not accompany them because he was still a slave although she and her sons were born free. She signed the petition for the incorporation of the city of Terre Haute.

Thomas Blake came here from Vincennes in 1846. He had been a pork packer at his home and continued that

occupation until he was employed by the city schools as a custodian.

Soon after coming to this city, he united with Allen Chapel A. M. E. Church and joined Darnes Lodge No. 4, F. and A. M. His wife also united with the Order of the Eastern Star.

Jethro Bass and his wife Polly Bass were also among the early newcomers to this city. Both were members of Allen Chapel A. M. E. Church. He belonged to Darnes Lodge No. 4, F. and A. M. and she, to the Eastern Star.

NEGRO SERVITUDE

While slavery never existed in Terre Haute, something that closely resembled it did. Henry, a poor Negro boy, was bound to a Mr. Condit, a white man, in 1834; and a Mr. Chunn, another white man, paid \$320 for the service of a Negro man for eight years. These indentures were negotiable, but no record of such transfers have been found. However, it is known positively that such transfers did take place in that city during that period.

GROWTH OF POPULATION

There were eleven Negroes living in Terre Haute in 1820. This number had increased to 227 in three decades or by 1850. This increase was caused by the rearing of large families, the immigration of emancipated slaves to the city from North Carolina and Virginia, and the moving of Negroes living in the neighboring rural communities to the city to work at such tasks as were open to them. During the Civil War Period many former slave families whose fathers were in the Union Army, made their way to Terre Haute where they established permanent homes. One such family was that of Joseph Jackson whose mother came to this city during the Civil War, bringing with her their ten children. Many Negroes who had no families also came to this city for permanent residence.

After the adoption of the "War Amendments" Negroes were free to go wherever they chose. Sometimes they moved in colonies from one section to another. An example of the emigration of a whole colony follows.

A NORTH CAROLINA COLONY SETTLES IN TERRE HAUTE

A group of 2,000 Negroes living in North Carolina in 1880, sold all that they owned and set out for Kansas to make their future homes.

On reaching Indianapolis, a number of them came into contact with Republican politicians connected with manufacturing plants that needed strong laborers. The Republicans also needed more men to vote the Republican ticket in order to win the next election. According to accounts, a number of the Kansas-bound Negroes were assured permanent employment if they remained here. It should also be noted that nearly all Negroes at that time were Republicans that could be counted on to vote a straight Republican ticket in the next election. A number of the Negroes of that colony decided to remain in Indiana. Some of them settled in Indianapolis, while a number went to Greensburg to make their homes, and still others traveled to Terre Haute. These made up the North Carolina Colony that settled in this city nearly three-fourths of a century ago.

A Mr. Evans who owned considerable land south of College Avenue and west of the track of the C. and E. I. Railroad sold small tracts to the new arrivals on easy terms. On these they built very cheap cottages to house their families. In such manner the South Side Community had its beginning. It is now the largest settlement of Negroes in Terre Haute.

The original group were Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester Smith; Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas Smith; Mr. and Mrs. Willie Uzzel; Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Worrel; Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Parks; Samuel Parks, Jr.; Mrs. Rosana Tate; John Hill, George and Tony Howell; Reverend and Mrs. Calvin Edwards; and Reverend and Mrs. Lewis Hill, the first pastor of the First Free Baptist Church of the city. Sylvester and Nicholas Smith, brothers, had married two sisters just before leaving and were the "newly weds" of the group.

MAKING A LIVING

On reaching Terre Haute most of the men readily found employment in the blast furnaces, car shops, and rolling mills; and the women desiring to work obtained it as

cooks, maids, and day workers in the homes of well-to-do white families of the city. By industry and thrift these new comers soon accumulated sufficient funds with which to pay for their homes and to provide their children with a better opportunity to get an education than they themselves had enjoyed. A number of the descendants of the original group that settled in Terre Haute still live in the community.

While the majority of the Negroes of this city continue to earn their livelihood by common labor, a smaller number are self-employed as barbers, caterers, hair dressers, undertakers, and keepers of retail stores and taverns. Others are engaged in the professions such as medicine, dentistry, law, teaching, and the ministry. A few are employed at the local Post Office and at the penal institution just south of the city and as firemen and policemen of the city.

This analysis reveals the fact that Terre Haute follows the usual pattern of the cities of this section in the field of employment. In most cases only the least desirable jobs as to working conditions and as to pay are offered Negroes when they apply for work at any employment office. Some commercial and industrial plants employ no Negroes even in the very lowest, poorest paid jobs; however in a few instances the door to better paid and more desirable jobs is very slowly being opened.

There never has been any large business conducted by Negroes in Terre Haute, perhaps because of a lack of capital, of the opportunity to get first hand the experience and the training that is needed, the small number of Negroes in the city, and the competition of the large and skillfully managed businesses with nation-wide branches.

From time to time small businesses have been launched by members of the race. One of the earliest was a grocery established by B. F. Herndon and his brother, Reverend John W. Brown, at the corner of College Avenue and South 13½ Streets. It was conducted a few years and then liquidated. A number of similar enterprises have been started by others in different sections of the city with the same result. However there have been a few exceptions. One is the E. Parks Grocery at Washington Ave. and 13½ Street; another is the Edwards Grocery in the same vicinity; and the Jones Drug Store near South

Thirteenth Street and College Avenue, previously mentioned.

There are also a few taverns, a few barber shops, a number of beauty parlors, a few restaurants, a package liquor store, and two undertaking parlors which have been in operation for several years.

There are also two hospitals. One is operated by Dr. J. J. Hoover at 2144 Eighth Avenue and the other by Dr. I. Herman Sloss at 1024 South Seventh Street. Both are well equipped and enjoy a large patronage of both races.

EDUCATION

The Public Schools of Terre Haute were first opened to Negroes in 1869. As we have seen, the schools in Terre Haute prior to the above date were subscription schools. Since they have already been discussed, no extended description will be included here.

The first tax-supported school for Negroes, which was later known as the Dunbar School, was first located on South First Street and was taught in a small one room frame building. It was opened in 1870 with Z. M. Anderson, who had attended Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and Miss Anna Perry as teachers. It was consolidated with the Booker T. Washington School in 1930.

To provide educational opportunities for the Negro children of the southeast part of the city, Booker T. Washington School was opened at 13½ and Dean Streets in 1887. The first teachers were two young white women, Misses Rediford and Ward. After one year both resigned and were succeeded by three Negro teachers: John Sims, Cassius Stokes, and Miss Adorah L. Knight. This building was supplanted by the present Booker T. Washington Building at Thirteenth and Cruft Avenue in 1914. The first teachers in the present building were S. W. Stewart, principal, John W. Lyda, Nevada Jackson, Elena J. Cabell, and Eva Bell Porter.

As the attendance has increased, more teachers have been added until there are now nine.

Ernest McZeak organized what is now Lincoln School in a one room building on North Fourteenth Street in 1889. He soon afterwards resigned to accept a more promising position in the Louisville, Kentucky, schools. Joseph Jackson succeeded him. The school soon outgrew

the one room and was moved to its present location at Sixteenth and Elm Streets where a larger building was erected. Having outgrown this building, the students were housed in the present spacious building a few years later. Morton Lewis succeeded Mr. Jackson two decades ago and served until he retired. The present principal, Mrs. Edith H. Bigham, succeeded him.

A few years ago, two small schools were opened for Negro children in the far north part of the city. One of these was taught by Mrs. Jane D. Shackelford and the other by Cassius Stokes and Miss Vera Herring. In a few years both were closed and the pupils transferred to Lincoln School.

RELIGION

Terre Haute is a city of many churches for its size. The Negro population is less than four thousand yet there are more than a score of small churches.

The first congregation organized and the first church erected by Negroes in this city was Allen Chapel A. M. E. Church, which was organized in 1837 by William Paul Quinn who later became a bishop of his denomination. The charter members were Jethro Bass, Polly Bass, his wife, Nelson Bass, William Johnson, and Mary Johnson. The congregation, if so few persons can be so called, first worshipped in a small frame building on South First Street near Crawford. The church was later moved to the present location at South Third and Crawford Streets where a larger brick building was erected to accommodate the growing membership. For many years Allen Chapel was the only church for Negroes in the city.

When the North Carolina Colony settled here and could not find homes, Allen Chapel opened its basement to them until they could find or build houses in which to live.

Several of the leading ministers of the A. M. E. Church have served as pastors of Allen Chapel. Among them were Hiram Revels, Johnson Mitchem, and Noah Williams who later became a bishop.

The Reverend Hardin Anderson organized the Second Baptist Church in a small building on South Second Street in 1871. Mr. and Mrs. Bragg, Mrs. Berkshire, and Harry Wade, Sr., were among the early members. In a few years the congregation moved its place of worship to South

Ninth Street where it remained for a number of years. It then bought a building on South Fourteenth at Oak Street and erected a large brick veneered church. This was destroyed by fire a few decades ago and was replaced by the present brick structure.

Among the prominent ministers who served this church as pastors were Reverend B. Hilman, Reverend E. W. Moore, Reverend B. N. Murrell, and Reverend B. C. Winchester.

A number of the persons who made up the Kansas-bound Colony, and who were members of the Free Baptist Denomination in North Carolina, held a meeting before leaving their old home, at which time they organized a Free Baptist Church. On arriving in Terre Haute, in 1880, they again met, completed the organization, and elected Reverend Louis Hill, pastor. Those who attended the meeting were Reverend Louis Hill, Mrs. Martha Parks, Mrs. Emily Edwards, Sylvester Smith, Sanders Jones, Reverend Willis Johnson, Samuel Parks, Sr., and Mrs. Rachel Edwards.

The congregation grew and soon erected a large frame church at the corner of South Fourteenth and Dean Streets. This was replaced by a large stone church at South Thirteenth and Cruft Avenue in 1907.

Dr. H. C. Maxwell is the present pastor.

The Reverend William Dickerson organized the St. Paul Missionary Baptist Church in a vacant store building at the corner of South Thirteenth and Crawford Streets, March 10, 1918. The congregation purchased a large frame building in which to worship at the corner of South Second and Farrington Streets. The congregation grew so rapidly that the church was soon too small. The building was moved to the back of the lot and a large brick church was built replacing it. This also proved too small before long. It was torn down to the basement, enlarged, and a practically new edifice erected. This was accomplished under the leadership of Reverend E. B. Philips, the present pastor.

The Rising Sun Mission was organized by Joseph Jackson October 2, 1892, to meet the religious needs of his people in the east part of the city, especially that of the young people. For a short time the group met from house to house among its members. Later, Mr. E. P. Fairbanks who owned a vacant store room near the corner

of North Fourteenth Street and Liberty Avenue permitted the group to meet there free of charge.

The Reverend A. M. Taylor organized the Rising Sun Mission into Spruce Street A. M. E. Church, affiliated with the Indiana Conference of that denomination. The congregation purchased a lot at the corner of North Nineteenth and Spruce Streets on which it erected a frame church which proved too small for the growing congregation. It was torn down to make room for the large brick building that has replaced it, under the leadership of the Reverend J. S. A. Mitchem, the pastor. He was assigned a new charge in Indianapolis before the building was completed and another pastor was sent to Spruce Street Church. Reverend Mitchem's successors have continued the work of completing the church. Finally under the pastorate of the Reverend E. P. Williams, the church was finished and was formally dedicated by Right Reverend John A. Gregg, Bishop of the A. M. E. denomination of this district in 1946 before a large congregation that more than filled the spacious auditorium.

The Saulters M. E. Church was organized in October, 1879, by Reverend L. Brandon, a local minister, at a meeting held at the home of Albert Odom, 1328 South 13½ Street.

Albert Saulters, John Edwards, and Albert Odom were appointed trustees; and Alex Weeden, Maggie Taylor, Nancy Odom, Letha Edwards, and Sarah Ridgely, stewards.

The church was given the name Saulters in honor of Albert Saulters, the oldest member of the congregation.

The first church was built at the corner of South 13½ Street and Cruft Avenue in 1883. It was remodeled in 1895 and rebuilt in 1908 while Reverend J. L. Franklin was the pastor. Unfortunately, this building was almost completely destroyed by fire early in 1952. It carried very little fire insurance. The congregation now worships in the parsonage.

SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

THE HYTE COMMUNITY CENTER

The Hyte Community Center located on South 13½ and Deming Streets in a former vacant building belonging

to the City of Terre Haute was organized in 1941 primarily to meet the needs of the Negro youth of the city.

Mrs. Daisy Hood who retired a few years ago because of ill health was the first director. Others who have followed her are Mrs. Wilma Sprinkles, Mrs. Clora Barnett, Mrs. Clara Mitchem, and Mrs. Ruth Whaling, the present director.

The usual program of such institutions is carried on. Because of a lack of adequate space at the Center, Lincoln School Building has been utilized for some of its activities.

The Board of Control conducts its business affairs. John W. Lyda is the president; Thomas G. Waldon, Jr., the vice-president; Mrs. Eunice Roberts, secretary; Mrs. Lena B. Lyda, treasurer; and Mrs. Hattie J. Edwards, assistant secretary. Mrs. Harry Langley, Mrs. Frances Payne, H. O. Roberts, and Oliver J. May are the other members of the board.

THE COLORED DAY NURSERY

The Colored Day Nursery was organized a half century ago to serve the colored working mothers of the neighborhood. It is located on South 13½ Street near Franklin Avenue. Mrs. Melissa Bishop was the founder. Mrs. Robert Flowers, Mrs. Hattie Parks, Mrs. Daisy Hood have been active in carrying out its program. It is now supported financially by the local Community Chest. Mrs. Katherine Jones is the president of the Board of Trustees.

CIVIC CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

The Young Men's Civic Club was organized at the home of Mr. and Mrs. C. T. Hyte in Terre Haute two decades ago to promote the civic, cultural, and educational development of its members, the community, and the state.

The charter members were Wesley Coleman, Jr., Carlyle Holland, Charles T. Hyte, Clyde Liggins, John W. Lyda, Rex Manuel, Sr., Luther Roberts, Jr., Thomas G. Waldon, Sr., and George Spottsville.

To achieve the purposes for which this organization was formed members of the club and civic leaders gave talks or read carefully prepared papers on timely problems followed by round table discussions among the members. The group has also sponsored the observance

of Negro Health and Negro History weeks and has also conducted a Beautiful Yard Contest for which it gave small cash prizes. It has co-operated with the Community Chest, the Red Cross, and the Anti-Tuberculosis Society in the work that they carry on.

To partially meet the social needs of its members, this organization gives a banquet each year in honor of the wives and sweethearts of the members.

The present members of the club include Dr. L. H. Anderson, Emuel Bigham, Dr. W. A. Edwards, Dr. D. A. Hoover, Dr. W. D. Jones, John W. Lyda, James C. Rutledge, Thomas G. Waldon, Sr., Dr. J. A. Welch, Dr. Edward L. Wilkerson, and T. B. Winston.

Dr. W. D. Jones is the president, T. B. Winston, vice-president, Thomas G. Waldon, secretary-treasurer, and James C. Rutledge, assistant secretary-treasurer.

To promote the recreational, educational, civic, and charitable well-being of the colored people of the city, the sixteen men who were employed at the Washington Avenue Recreational Center organized a club known as Circle Sixteen at the center, March 12, 1937.

The original members of Circle Sixteen were John Brayboy, Samuel Braxton, Louis Brown, Charles Bruce, Harold Chandler, Herschel Flowers, Sidney Flowers, Floyd Howell, Dalas Kay, Whitfield Morrow, Jarvis Moseley, Howard Ritchie, Wyatt Rogers, Jack Shultz, Arnet Tolliver, and Glenn Tyler, Sr.

Several years ago the club gave a very successful minstrel at which \$700 was raised. This was given to Dr. J. J. Hoover to be administered for recreational purposes.

Circle Sixteen maintains an actors' guild which is kept busy giving entertainments in and outside the city. It also sponsored an Easter Egg Hunt for the Children of the Orphan's Home from 1938 to 1945.

For the enjoyment of the members, their wives, and sweethearts, the club gives a traditional Independence Day Picnic and an annual party during the Christmas holidays.

Circle Sixteen has thirty-two members and a waiting list of twenty. It sponsors a junior Circle Sixteen, also. The ultimate goal of the club is the erection of a building for recreational purposes.

FRATERNAL AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS

According to the original charter of Darnes Lodge No. 4, F. and A. M. it was instituted in 1856 under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ohio. The first officers were William Carter, worshipful master; Dave Johnson, senior warden; Jesse Mitchell, junior warden; William Chandler, secretary; and Nelson Lofton, treasurer.

The charter members were Henry Ash, Nelson Bass, Thomas Blake, James H. Bundy, William C. Carter, William Chandler, Green Day, James S. Hinton, William H. Howard, Dave Johnson, Nelson Lofton, Jesse Mitchell, Austin Perry, Charles Perry, Stephen Price, A. Purcell, James U. Scott, George Smith, Jethro Bass, and William Johnson.

The original membership of twenty-one has increased until it is nearly one hundred at present. This lodge pays both sick and burial benefits to its members.

At least one of its members, John Underwood, was an agent of the Underground Railroad and helped fugitive slaves to elude being captured by slave hunters.

Darnes Lodge owns one-half interest in a valuable business building located at 18 North Third Street near Wabash Avenue, the principal business street of Terre Haute, from which it derives a considerable financial income.

Since its institution nearly a century ago, this lodge has taken an interest and played an important part in the affairs of the state body. Its second grand master, James S. Hinton, was a charter member of this lodge. Robert A. Brown, another member, served as the secretary for one year; and Fred H. Evans, still another member, was the deputy grand master for several years.

Among those who may be mentioned as having served Darnes Lodge faithfully through the years are: A. D. Ashworth, James A. Baker, Jethro Bass, R. A. Brown, Fred H. Evans, Simon Daniels, P. F. Hamilton, D. D. Harris, W. W. Hawkins, Joseph Jackson, John W. Lyda, James Robertson, George W. Russell, John W. Walden, and Thomas G. Waldon.

Through the years of its history, this lodge and its members have been community minded and have contributed much in devoted service and financial donations to such worthwhile organizations as the Community Chest, Red Cross, and the Anti-Tuberculosis Society.

Bradley Owens is the worshipful master and Thomas G. Waldon, the secretary-treasurer.

Bethlehem Court Order of the Eastern Star was organized prior to 1888. The records of that order indicate that it was affiliated with the Grand Court of the West (Ohio) and that it took a part in the organization of the Grand Court of Indiana as has been pointed out in an earlier section. This court was granted a charter by the newly organized court in 1888. This instrument was signed by the first officers of the grand court: Mrs. Margaret A. Teister, most worthy grand matron; Henry A. Rogan, most worthy grand patron; Mrs. Nellie Allen, right worthy associate grand matron; and Mrs. Emma J. Smith, right worthy grand secretary. The members of Bethlehem Chapter whose names appeared on the charter were Anna Day, Mary Mathews, Charles Butler, Mary Fauver, Charles Duncan, Anna Saunders, Charlotte Guthrie, Clarinda Smith, Amy Scott, Tempa Howard, William Howard, Sarah Miller, N. Harrison, Anna Brooks, and Mary Green.

When the name Grand Court of Indiana was changed to that of Grand Chapter of Indiana in 1891, the name Bethlehem Court was likewise changed to that of Bethlehem Chapter.

Bethlehem Chapter has given to the Grand Chapter two grand matrons, Mary E. Cutrip and Anna M. Ashworth; two grand patrons, R. A. Brown and John W. Lyda, the present grand patron; one grand secretary, Anna M. Ashworth; and a number of appointed grand officers.

This chapter has not only served its members well but also the community by co-operating with every worthy organization and project; for example, the Cancer Society, Community Chest, Red Cross, and Anti-Tuberculosis Society.

Pioneer Post No. 340, American Legion was organized February 20, 1920 and was sponsored by Fort Harrison Post No. 40. Captain Alonzo Duddleston, Ora Davis, and Harry Fitch were the organizers. The post was given the name Pioneer Post because a majority of the original members belonged to pioneer regiments No. 804, No. 809, and No. 912.

The charter members were the following: commander, Lloyd Bibbs; first vice commander, William G. Manuel;

service officer, Clarence D. Hart; chaplain, Thomas G. Waldon; and sergeant-at-arms, Benjamin Butler; members, Walter Battle, John Bibbs, Carland Brooks, Herschel Flowers, Ora Marshall, Vertner McClain, Owen T. Parks, Norman Roberts, Ben Simpson, Edward Tate, William Taylor, Walter D. Thomas, Cable Utterback, Albert Wharton, Walter White, and Elmer Williams.

Of the above members only two are now active, Vertner McClain and Thomas G. Waldon.

The post is now permanently located at 2150 Tippecanoe Street where it owns its own home. When purchased, this eight room building was in only fair condition. It has since been remodeled, redecorated, modernized, and insulated with beautiful siding which adds much to its appearance and value. The post has made all the improvements except that of the siding on the pay-as-you-go plan.

The membership of the post now numbers more than one hundred. A loyal auxiliary is ever ready to support the post by rendering needed assistance.

Since its organization, Pioneer Post has co-operated with the other posts of the district, with the state, and with the national organization. One of its members, Thomas G. Waldon, was sent as a state delegate to the national meeting in San Francisco in 1946 and was elected as an alternate to the meeting in New York the following year.

This post has given its support to all worthwhile projects of the community. One year it sponsored a boys' baseball team and hired a coach to direct it. Because of its distinguished service, Pioneer Post has received many state and national citations.

It is an active member of the Vigo County War Veterans Council and of the Council of the American Legion.

In addition to the organizations just cited there is also an active branch of the N. A. A. C. P. which has a large membership that supports the program of the national body whole-heartedly.

A FEW BUILDERS

Space will not permit the mentioning of even a major fraction of the names of all those who have made invaluable contributions to the building of the present city of

Terre Haute. Those who are listed below are only a sampling of the list. James Bishop, Remus Hicks, and Robert Smith were efficient public servants of this city. E. R. Clark won the respect of all the officials of the local post office by his dependable and faithful attention to duty. John Sims, Cassius Stokes, S. W. Stuart, Fred D. Blake, Joseph Jackson, P. F. Hamilton, Miss Adorah L. Knight, Miss Eva Bell Porter, Charles T. Hyte, and many others have made invaluable contributions to this city as teachers in the public schools.

Mrs. Mary E. Crutip was like a mother to the many young men and young women who found shelter under her roof while attending the Indiana State Teachers College years ago.

In addition to those that have been previously mentioned, there were many others in the past and even at present who do not hold positions commensurate with their abilities, qualifications, and real worth for reasons previously cited. Let us hope that this glaring injustice may speedily pass away so that only real worth and demonstrated ability in all races may receive the same recognition and advancement. Nevertheless many such persons in all communities have made a name for themselves by the high type of services they have rendered. A brief list of such persons in this community follows: A. D. Ashworth who served the Pennsylvania Railroad for more than a quarter century; Samuel Berry, who served Rose Polytechnic Institute a half century; James Robinson, who managed the Phoenix Club for a like period of time; and scores of others who, regardless of the field in which they labor, have earned the confidence and the respect of those with whom they have come into intimate contact.

EMANCIPATION DAY IN TERRE HAUTE, SEPTEMBER 22, 1888

Terre Haute and her Wabash Valley neighbors celebrated Emancipation Day, September 22, 1888, with enthusiasm. To the majority that took an active part, the day had a very real significance, for many of them had felt the sting of the overseer's cruel lash more than once in by-gone days and recalled the sweetness of the

joy that had been theirs when the shackles of slavery were struck from their limbs by the pen of Abraham Lincoln.

The main feature of the observance was held at Hulman Park on South Third Street in the afternoon with Frederic Douglas as their speaker. As usual he demonstrated his right to his great name and world wide renown as an orator of the very first magnitude. In the course of his masterful address his hearers again and again interrupted his words with long and enthusiastic applause. At the close of his speech the audience broke into spontaneous and prolonged acclamation. The band then played "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", "America", and a number of popular selections for the entertainment of those who were present.

Preceding the program at the park and just before noon, a long parade led by a lively visiting marching band moved down Wabash Avenue, which was lined on both sides with spectators of both races. A platoon of city police dressed in natty uniforms marched immediately behind the musicians who seemed to be putting their very souls into their music; next in line was the honor guest and speaker of the day, Frederic Douglas, and the Reception Committee in a beautiful carriage gaily decorated in patriotic colors and drawn by four spirited milk-white horses. Mr. Douglas rode with his head uncovered and smilingly acknowledged the spontaneous cheers that greeted him on every side; then marched a group of Civil War veterans dressed in faded blue uniforms that they had worn on the battlefield years ago, when they fought to save the Union and to free the slaves; a procession of school children dressed in their Sunday best followed; and behind them came many men clad in the colorful regalia of their different lodges; proudly walking after them were many former slaves happy that they owned their own bodies; and finally an array of horse-drawn decorated floats filled with old and infirm ex-slaves climaxed the parade.

One person that took part in the celebration remarked, "This has been a 'red letter day' in the life of Wabash Valley Negroes."

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A Few Builders

Emancipation Day in Terre Haute, September 22, 1888

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